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A PRELUDE TO PROVENCE

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By

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M.A. Oxon.

*With twenty illustrations
from photographs by Kathleen Alexander
and a map*

*" Une tortue était, à la tête légère,
Qui, lasse de son trou, voulut voir le pays."*

LA FONTAINE



LONDON
THE RICHARDS PRESS LTD.
PUBLISHERS

*Printed in Great Britain by
The Camelot Press Limited,
London and Southampton
1929*

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	9
I. NATURAL CONDITIONS IN PROVENCE	11
Separated from North France—But itself a natural cross-roads—Both urban and rural—Lagoons—Changes of coastline—Forests—Drainage—Irrigation.	
II. EARLY HISTORY	17
Ligurians—Scarcely Gaulish—Greeks—Relations with Rome—Greek arts, education.	
III. THE ROMANS	28
Narbo and Aix Roman—Earlier passage of Scipio—Marius's victory—Early colony—Development of the Province—Julius Cæsar—Siege of Massilia—End of Greek rule.	
IV. THE ROMANS (<i>continued</i>)	32
Administration of Gaul—Contrast administration of the Province—Political condition of Roman colonies—Trade—Social life—Education and arts—Religion.	
V. CHRISTIAN PROVENCE	48
The fifth century—Continuity of Empire—Government by bishops and counts—Saracens—Boson, Hugues—Imperial tie vague—Good government by local counts—Difficulty of sharing rule—Grievance of des Baux.	
VI. THE MIDDLE AGES	57
Imperial intervention—Frederick Barbarossa and des Baux—But French influence developing—Rivalry of Toulouse and Raymond Bérenger—Civil war—Albigensian Crusade gives Languedoc to France—Venaissin becomes French—Anjou inherits Provence—Wasting struggle for Naples—France gains Dauphiné—France gains Provence.	
VII. THE MIDDLE AGES (<i>continued</i>)	70
Social conditions—Dangers of travel—Fire, plague, famine—Children's Crusade—Communes struggling for independence—Consuls and podestas—Floods—Compagnies—Depopulation—Cœur revives trade.	
VIII. THE CRUSADES	79
Importance to Provence—Intercourse with north as well as south and east—Joinville—Provence taking part—St. Louis's Crusades—Spanish Crusades—Results for Provence.	

	PAGE
IX. THE TROUBADOURS	88
Conditions favourable to poetic revival—Saracen influence?— <i>Amour courtois</i> —Current literary forms—Love theme of south—Influence on <i>romans</i> and Arthurian legends—And cult of Virgin?—Poets all ranks—Courts of Love—Some Troubadours.	
X. THE RELIGIOUS WARS	98
Southern tolerance—Valdo—Albigensians derive from Cathars?—Widespread heresy—Dominic attempts persuasion—Raymond of Toulouse involved—Simon de Montfort—Languedoc ceded to France—Siege of Avignon—Inquisition—Effects on French law.	
XI. THE POPES AT AVIGNON	108
France and Papacy—Advantages of Avignon—John XXII's riches—Clement VI's Court—Avignon preferred to Rome—Great schism—Siege of papal palace—Schism ended.	
XII. THE LEGEND OF THE SAINTS AND THE MIRACULOUS BOAT	116
The Story—Origin of dedications—Marseilles claims Lazarus—Device of Vézelay monks—Other attempts—Mary Magdalene and St. Maximin—Tarascon and les Saintes Maries—Local patriotism—Passion for relics.	
XIII. JOANNA OF NAPLES	123
Troubled inheritance—Early difficulties—Murder of Andrew—Rebellion of Charles of Durazzo—War with Hungary—Good administration—Hostility of her heir—And of Pope—Imprisonment and death—Qualities.	
XIV. RÈNÉ	134
Early education—Declares for France—Imprisonment by Burgundy—Inherits Naples—Hopeless struggle for throne—Settles at Angers—Right hand of France—Troubles of last years—Poetry and arts—Anjou and Provence—Private tastes predominate.	
XV. THE TOWNS, TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON ARCHITECTURE	145
Roman remains—The arch—Roman architecture eclectic—Transition illustrated in Provence—Pointed arch precedes round—Clerestory <i>versus</i> aisleless churches—Roman detail—Byzantine figures—Aigues-Mortes—Aix—Arles—Avignon—Les Baux—Beaucaire—Camaret—Carpentras—Cavaillon—Châteauneuf du Pape—Courthézon—Entraigues—Le Thor—Maillane—Marseilles—Martigues—Montfaucon—Montfavet—Montmajour—Nîmes—Nôves—Orange—Pont du Gard—Pont Flavien—Roquemaure—St. Gabriel—St. Gilles—St. Paul-Trois Châteaux—St. Rémy—Les Saintes Maries—Tarascon—Vaison—Vienne.	
SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY	203
INDEX	205

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ST. RÉMY : THE " MAUSOLEUM "	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	<i>Facing Page</i>
PONT DU GARD	14
ST. CHAMAS : PONT FLAVIEN	24
ST. RÉMY : TRIUMPHAL ARCH	30
ORANGE : TRIUMPHAL ARCH	40
AVIGNON : THE CATHEDRAL	48
LE THOR : PORCH	48
ARLES : ST. TROPHIME	60
LE THOR : WALLS AND GATE	74
COURTHÉZON : FOUNTAIN AND GATE	74
NEAR TARASCON : ST. GABRIEL	84
TARASCON : ST. MARTHE	84
ROMAN BATHS IN THE JARDIN DE LA FON- TAINÉ, NÎMES	90
MONTMAJOUR : CLOISTERS	100
AVIGNON : PALACE OF THE POPES	110
AVIGNON : FROM ACROSS THE RIVER	128
BEAUCAIRE : HÔTEL DE VILLE	128
LES BAUX : PAVILLON DE LA REINE JEANNE	144
MARTIGUES : FAÇADE OF CHURCH	164
NÎMES : TEMPLE OF DIANA	182
MAP	202

Thanks are due to the Clarendon Press for permission to quote from "The Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris," translated by O. M. Dalton, and to Mr. Philip Nutt for permission to quote from "Aucassin and Nicolette," translated by Andrew Lang.

INTRODUCTION

WHAT is meant by Provence ? The area requires definition. The traveller in this part of France may be visiting the coast between Hyères and Ventimiglia, or the district about Avignon (or both). Ordinarily, one would describe the first as going to the Riviera, and the second as going to Provence. It is in this sense that the word is used here. It is assumed that the primary interest of the traveller is in Avignon, Arles, Orange, Aix, Marseilles, and their environs. Especial consideration is given to them for the practical reason that they form a group which can easily be visited and known. To know that other part of Provence, of which the Riviera is only the fringe, one would need to go inland and study the little towns as well as the coast, a much more difficult programme (and other books deal adequately with this locality). Therefore, the writer has concentrated on what can be done easily by rail or car in perhaps a month's holiday.

But the history of the coast is bound up with that of the group of Rhône towns. And, to the north, even so distant a town as Vienne has close historical associations with them. On the west, many ties connect Provence with Languedoc, including Nîmes, Narbonne, Toulouse, Albi, and Carcassonne. Languedoc and Provence were at

one time under the same Roman government ; at all times they had much in common. It has therefore seemed advisable to take rather a wide view in dealing with general tendencies and historical movements. But the places dealt with in detail in the last chapter fall more or less within a triangle : Aigues-Mortes ; Orange ; Marseilles. Easily accessible by car, they can almost all be reached also either by rail or by Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée auxiliary motor service.

I

NATURAL CONDITIONS IN PROVENCE

Separated from North France—But itself a natural cross-roads—Both urban and rural—Lagoons—Changes of coastline—Forests—Drainage—Irrigation.

THE key to the history of Provence is its geographical position. Its great rivers, its surrounding mountains, above all its position on the Mediterranean, stamped its character on it. By the great central mass of the Auvergne and the Cevennes Mountains it was partly isolated from western and northern France and obliged to look southward. Its other boundaries, on the contrary, did not isolate it, but made it a natural channel of communication. The plain about the mouth of the Rhône was the direct route between the most convenient cols of the Pyrenees and the Alps. So that neither range was an effective barrier as compared with the Cevennes. Traffic flowed easily across the cols and the plain of the Rhône mouth, or up the river; but forced by the geographical conformation into very definite routes. Along these routes settlements were early established. The Rhône itself, with the Saône, was a highway for traffic northwards to no great distance from the Seine. By the lake of Geneva or by the Doubs a way was opened to central Europe.

But the Mediterranean was the dominating force.

By the Mediterranean, Provence was in touch with all the ancient civilisations. From or to the Mediterranean came nearly all its activity. To realise more fully what this means, contrast it one moment with solitary Britain, distant island, chiefly visited for its tin. That tin brought the Rhône some of its early traffic. Frequently, instead of being sea-borne all the way, it was sent from Calais by road and river to the early Phœnician settlements near Marseilles. The Phœnicians had an early road, too, coming out of Spain by Nîmes to the river crossing at Beaucaire ; here it divided into three important tracks. But, from the very earliest days of man's appearance, the region lent itself naturally to communication.

It was a natural cross-roads, a meeting-place for men and trade and ideas. By the Mediterranean it was in touch with Etruria, Greece, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Carthage, Crete. The Mediterranean was for it the very source of higher civilisation, of intellectual and material refinement. And it fostered a people who became, thereby, ready to learn, amenable to new ideas, friendly to strangers, appreciative of commerce, adaptable, and intelligent. In its pastoral plains, the impulse of the Mediterranean built important trafficking centres. From its earliest days it was both urban and rural, seafaring and pastoral. From all these qualities its civilisation took early and lasting shape.

But the rivers and sea have constantly affected the physical conditions of Provence, making and unmaking it. When the Romans reached Provence, lagoons stretched all the way from Arles to the sea, and were only separated from it by a low mudbank. The Alpilles, the little range of mountains between Arles and St. Rémy, were entirely surrounded by water. Les Baux could only be reached with a boat. Marius's soldiers did not need to dig a canal : what they had to do was to connect lagoons. Perhaps, even, they had only to widen and deepen already existing channels between great lagoons. Then they connected them with the Rhône to get a steady level of water. By this means they made St. Gabriel their port, to which their sea-boats could come. Even in the eleventh century both St. Gilles and Arles were seaports.

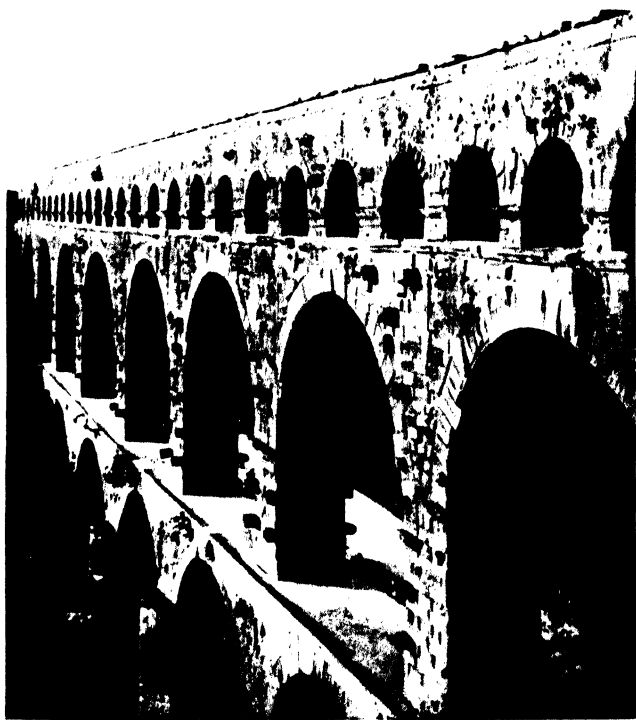
Two causes have changed this. The Rhône mouth has varied very much. As it was not embanked, floods caused it to spread indefinitely. After the floods, it did not always return to its old bed, but took a fresh course. The same thing happened to the Durance. But the tideless sea is a still more important cause, at work at this moment. The whole Rhône delta is constantly silting up, even as the Nile delta. It is said that one may almost watch it happening. A chance bit of driftage forms a core ; small objects catch against it ; mud is washed round ; an island begins to form.

With a big river like the Rhône it is a rapid process. In old days, signal towers were built

at its mouth to guide shipping. These old towers are now inland. Four or five may be seen, it is said, and the latest, built only two hundred years ago, is now five miles from the sea. Other bays, with smaller streams, are filling up along the coast—Bormes, Cavalaire—in a less degree. When the Romans made Fréjus a naval port, it was on a lagoon adjoining the sea. It was always necessary to dredge this: after the fifth century, dredging was neglected, and the port began to silt up owing to the action of the River Argens. Aigues-Mortes again was in touch with navigable waters when Louis IX acquired it. On the other hand, the sea has gained advantage near Nice and Beaulieu, and near the Camargue.

Silting was increased by deforestation. South of Arles, the great pastoral plains of the Camargue were once wooded; so were the banks of the Durance. Immense forests spread round Aix. The woods were recklessly cut down; consequently the rain carried away the soil. The lighter soil was washed right away, and added to the deposit at the river-mouth. The coarse gravel and stones were deposited in the plains, rendering them infertile, as parts of the Crau between Arles and Salon.

Greeks, Romans, and later the monastic orders, have met these difficulties. The Greeks and Romans began work on the marshes round Marseilles. Reclamation has continued almost constantly. The monks were very active in drainage work. At Montmajour the abbey was surrounded by water; in the eleventh century



THE PONT DU GARD.

they are heard of as repairing embankments which were still older. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, they were busy with the water at Istres, Martigues, and St. Chamas.

It was not only a question of reclamation, but also of drainage for health. If the channels were not kept open, there were stagnant pools and marshes. After the Rhône floods, great tracts of water were left standing. All these fens brought fever. Already in the Roman period, fever was a feature of the country. The problem continued serious till recent times. Louis XIII obtained the help of Dutchmen; to them Provence owes the district which is one of the greatest market-gardens of France. They drained all the country between Arles and Les Baux and round Fontvielle, Mollèges, Eyrargues, Graveson, Mailane, Tarascon, and St. Rémy. Even then Montmajour was only accessible from Arles by boat.

Yet, on the other hand, irrigation was needed for the fertile plains, and water for the cities. The Romans had brought water to Nîmes by the famous Pont du Gard; they carried it nearly forty miles to Fréjus. Marseilles, in the Middle Ages, was still depending on old aqueducts, which could not give an adequate supply. With her small rainfall, she was always subject to illness and famine. Nothing was done there till the nineteenth century. But as early as 1548 part of the Crau was irrigated from the Durance. A hundred years later Cavaillon carried this

improvement further. Nowadays, fresh schemes are being executed. In old days the Camargue and the Crau were only pasture-lands—great tracts there are still given over to cattle and sheep, but a large part is also cultivated.

Some authorities, indeed, doubt the value of embankments to the rivers. But for the embankments, a fresh bed of soil would be laid down each year as by the Nile. Certain areas which are subject to floods show very rich crops. The embankments, moreover, are never an infallible protection, and, when they do give, much greater damage is done by an unexpected flood into a limited space than would be done by annual inundations spread over an indefinite area. The question remains open, apparently.

Provence might, indeed, celebrate a mystic marriage with water as Venice with the Adriatic. Inland she has been its subject till she has learnt to control it. In proper irrigation there is immense promise for her future. Her harvests will be increased an hundredfold. As for the sea, it has always been her partner and companion. It has always brought presents from strange countries to lay at her feet, even as was said centuries ago of Arles : “ Thither the rich East, perfumed Arabia, fertile Africa, beautiful Spain, bold Gaul bring their most precious treasures, and heap them in such abundance that one could suppose the pride of these countries to be really her natural produce.”¹

¹ Document of A.D. 418.

II

EARLY HISTORY

Ligurians—Scarcely Gaulish—Greeks—Relations with Rome—Greek arts, education.

THE earliest known inhabitants of Gaul were probably Ligurians. They came from northern Europe. It is thought that they occupied the greater part of France and Belgium. They shared the south with Iberians. In the south-west the Iberians had come up from Spain; in the south-east the Ligurians lived about the Rhône and the French Riviera. A second invasion from the north occurred after their settlement: the Gauls swept over France. They pushed the earlier inhabitants back into the more remote or inaccessible districts. They paused at the wide valley of the upper Rhône. They never penetrated to the mountainous Riviera coast, where the Ligurians had taken refuge. Nor, for the most part, did they reach the marshy flats about the Rhône delta. These shallow fens were almost impassable, save for the Ligurian rafts, which were floated on buoys of inflated skins. The consequence is clear. Provence was never really Gaulish; it was Ligurian, with some slight intermixture of Gaulish blood. It follows that one element of the many which make the modern Frenchman is present in far less degree in the

Provençal. A distinction is already apparent. And it is one which has historical significance. This appears later in connection with religion and Druidism.

The Gaulish influx occurred in the sixth century before Christ. Shortly before, an event of great importance had occurred. Greeks had founded a colony at Massilia, now Marseilles. Probably Phœnicians had visited the coast to trade. Perhaps they had a depôt on the islands off Marseilles, and also at St. Gilles (known as Heraclea). Now a Greek colony was founded on the mainland.

Phœcea, a Greek town of Asia Minor, sent out an exploring expedition. According to the story the Greek seamen surveyed other sites on the Spanish coast, and on the Italian. But in Spain the Carthaginian power was predominant, in Italian waters the Etruscan; these were hostile forces. Finally they pitched on Marseilles, and the exploring party returned to report. Thereupon the company of colonists set off. They bore with them the statue of the Ephesian Artemis, attended by her priestess. Reaching the coast they entered into friendly relations with the Ligurians. From them they obtained land for their settlement. Almost certainly some port and market-town was there already; its situation inevitably made it a centre of trade. The legend relates that on arrival they found the Ligurian chieftain celebrating a feast for his daughter and her suitors. They were invited to partake. After the meal, Glyptis, the chief's daughter,

would choose her husband by offering him a cup of wine. When the time came Glyptis looked round her at the young Ligurian nobles, and then at the Greek travellers ; finally she presented the cup to Protis, the leader of the Greeks. The legend indicates, at any rate, friendly intercourse and intermarriage between inhabitants and newcomers.

Greek civilisation thus appeared on the threshold. Before long it penetrated a large part of Provence and left a Greek tradition which has never been lost. The rest of Gaul it did not reach. Again the south was differentiated from the rest. In the south alone Greek culture made its valuable contribution to the development of Provence and Languedoc.

At other points along the coast, and even inland, the Greeks established trading-posts, rather like the early factories of the East India Company. They even penetrated northwards as far as Avignon. Events occurred elsewhere which promoted their settlement. The Persians took the mother town in Asia Minor (Phoea). Many of the Greek inhabitants fled by sea rather than live under Persian rule. Was it one of their long, swift penteconters of which a fragment has been discovered at Marseilles ? They eventually found a home there, and strengthened it effectually.

This was the position when the Gauls settled themselves about the Rhône. They endeavoured to shake the Greek power. But the political skill of the Greeks was able to maintain friendly relations with them as with the Ligurians. At

the same time bands of Gauls were also pressing from the north into Italy. Here they came into conflict with the Etruscan power. Immediately then the Massilians took the opportunity to attack the Etruscans at sea. The town of Nice is named in honour of their victory (*νίκη*), All the time the Massilians were planting their trading-stations. The greater part of the coast, nearly from Montpellier to Nice, belonged to them.

It is very interesting to note their early relations with Rome. They were united by common enemies in the Carthaginian and Etruscan Empires. It was after the Romans had defeated the Etruscans at Cumæ (474 B.C.) that Massilia was able to develop properly. Six years before, Rome had won the victory of Himera over the Carthaginians; the latter tried to re-establish their power, but Rome's naval supremacy worsted them. Massilians and Romans had sympathies in common, too. Rome had shown a respect for Greek religion, and had sent envoys to Delphi. The Roman offering at Delphi was placed in the Massilian treasury there. Again, when the Gaulish hordes fell upon the Etruscan empire, they also attacked and sacked Rome (388 B.C., and again in 295 B.C.). Thereupon the Massilian merchants opened a subscription for Rome. The Romans always entertained a lively sense of gratitude. Massilian merchants in Rome had special trade privileges and free seats at the spectacles, and a defensive treaty was concluded between the two cities.

Everything tended to strengthen the position of Massilia, and consequently the note of Greek influence in Provence. Massilia stamped her impress both on the Rhône delta and on the seaboard. It has never disappeared. It was said then that Greek arts flourished there. Her mosaics and enamel-work were especially worthy of mention. She had her sculptors at work ; each new settlement had its statue of the goddess in her temple ; and many other figures decorated the townships. Asia Minor coined money even before Greece. Massilia's coins introduced it to the surrounding barbarians. Clumsy imitations have been found, indicating that the original coins were good value : these have been discovered at considerable distances. The culture of vines, olives, and flax was encouraged. Her woven materials were well known and admired. Some of her delicate pottery has been found at Les Baux.

Moreover, her schools and university were famous. Not only did the young nobles of the surrounding tribes come to Massilia for education. Many Roman boys were sent here, as the moral atmosphere was stricter than that of the cities of Greece. In Massilia was a true intellectual curiosity. The travels of her sailor Pytheas are related elsewhere (see "Towns"). One can imagine the scientific speculation to which they gave rise. Another of her sailors visited the west coast of Africa. Her position as a port and her relations with the Greek world gave her a universal outlook. She diffused a culture which

left a permanent mark on all the surrounding area. To understand this fully one may recall Aristotle's idea. For him the ideal of a Greek city is "good life." He contrasts unorganised village life, always struggling to satisfy material needs, with life in the polis, admitting of moral and intellectual advance. In his view, art, literature, and philosophy develop where the mind can act unhampered; he defines the State as the organisation which provides the opportunity. However much Massilia fell short of such an ideal, there must have been a startling contrast between the conceptions she diffused and the ideals of the Gaul which lay beyond reach of her influence.

III

THE ROMANS

Narbo and Aix Roman—Earlier passage of Scipio—Marius's victory—
Early colony—Development of the Province—Julius Cæsar—Siege
of Massilia—End of Greek rule.

It was in response to a call from Massilia that the Romans reached Gaul. Rome had attacked the Gaulish tribes of Italy. Towards the beginning of the third century B.C. she mastered the northern plain, and added it to her possessions as Cisalpine Gaul. She now had a base from which to advance. The fighting strength of the Gauls had made an indelible impression on the Roman mind. Any war that pressed them back was a war of defence. Moreover, the Romans had reached Spain by sea. It was to their advantage to have a footing on the land route to it. Massilia and her dependent settlements stretched between. About this time Massilia found herself so seriously threatened by the Gauls as to be forced to seek the help of Rome. This gave Rome an opportunity.

Between 155 and 125 B.C. the Romans defeated the Ligurian tribes which still maintained their hold of the Riviera coast. They gained there a strip of territory. This they handed over to the Massilians on condition that a road was made and was kept open to their use. Next they defeated the tribes which were besieging Massilia.

They took possession of the Celtic town of Narbo and established a trading-colony there. They were careful to leave Massilia its previous sphere of influence. They only established a garrison at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix-en-Provence), a day's march from Massilia, which they were in a position to protect. And they gained a certain ascendancy over the hinterland behind the Massilian colonies. The sea was still Rome's easiest means of access to Spain or Narbo, but she had her foot on the land route. At the same time, her influence about the Mediterranean was extended. It would only be a small step later on, when Massilia and its dependencies came under her rule, to make the Mediterranean a Roman sea.

Thus Gallia Narbonensis was founded, later to be known as "the Province" *par excellence*, whence Provence. It was Ligurian; it was Greek. Now the Roman occupation began. It was a small beginning, but Roman influence dates from this moment, and it continued unchecked. Gaul, on the other hand, remained outside Roman politics. Many years elapsed before Gaul knew Rome.

Already, as long ago as 218 B.C., Roman troops had been seen on the Rhône. Scipio's army had marched westward to stop Hannibal and his Carthaginians on their way from Spain, where they had been endeavouring to undermine Roman power. In a previous war the once famous Carthaginian fleet had been heavily defeated by Rome. Consequently, sea operations and transport were impossible for Carthage, especially as



SE. CHAMAS : PONT FLAVIEN.

Massilia was hostile. So that Hannibal set out to march to Rome, and his problem was to cross the Rhône without giving battle to Scipio. In this he succeeded, and got his army safely across the river ; his thirty-seven elephants must have been long remembered by the inhabitants.

A danger to Italy of a different sort was the next to be met on the plains of the Rhône. A great horde of Cimbrians and Teutons were marching south, anxious to settle wherever they could seize land. They had actually defeated five Roman armies. Again the Romans felt the fear of the barbarian. The moment was critical. Marius prepared his army to meet them. He chose his position and trained his men. He had time to make his plans, and when the moment came he was ready. His position was difficult, with no support in the district. Above all, he must watch the Rhône crossing ; at Beaucaire—Tarascon was the usual crossing-place. To do so he must take up a strong position near, and this he found at St. Rémy. But he had also to ensure his supplies and communication with Rome. Northward from Fos on the Mediterranean stretched several lagoons. He set his men to widen and deepen the canals which connected these, and brought them into touch with Ernaginum (St. Gabriel), near his camp. At once he had a complete system of communication. When the barbarians approached he refused to be drawn from his strong position. His men were many of them young soldiers, and the barbarians were undefeated. It was only when his soldiers had

accustomed themselves to the sight of the enemy, when they had gained confidence in themselves and him, that he followed. Then he waited till the favourable moment came. When he saw his advantage, at last he struck. The greater part of the Teutons were utterly destroyed, at the battle of Pourrières, near Aix-en-Provence. What Marius had achieved was so vital that it passed into legend. His name was never forgotten in Provence.

Meanwhile, the new little colony was accustoming itself to Roman rule. Its early years under Roman government were unsatisfactory. War broke out in Italy; Italian tribes revolted against Rome. Consequently the Province was neglected. Then civil war broke out in Rome itself; some of the democratic party fled into Provence. Marius himself had been a democrat, and probably many of his old soldiers were settled at Narbo and Aquæ Sextiæ. This made it a natural refuge for the people's party. Some moved on into Spain and joined Sertorius in rebellion against Rome. Roman armies marched against him across the Province. Then Sertorius himself traversed it in order to cross the Alps; and by doing so he involved the Province in rebellion. Thereupon Pompey was sent by Rome; he drove Sertorius back into Spain. As for the Province, he appointed a new governor, a man who made himself so unpopular that he was besieged in Narbo. Having restored order, his one thought was to get as much as possible out of his position (on his return to Rome he was

prosecuted for extortion and embezzlement). Tribes rebelled ; their land was confiscated and handed over to Massilia. This did not bring peace. One tribe, the Allobroges, brought complaints to Rome. In spite of signal services rendered by their ambassadors there, they did not get redress. Then they broke into rebellion, and it was some years before they were subdued. Their town, Vienna (Vienne), was then added to the other two Roman settlements, Narbo and Aquæ Sextiæ. This was in 61 B.C. The battle of Pourrières had taken place in 102 B.C. For forty years then the Province had been chiefly the scene of marches and countermarches, together with some fighting.

Nevertheless, it had probably made material progress. The first thought of the Romans was always for their military communications. So they would immediately set about building roads and bridges. The Via Domitia was probably constructed in these earliest days of the Province. As already stated, a strip of territory along the coast had been handed over to the Massilians for them to construct a road. The Via Domitia struck off the Massilian road at the point where later stood the town of Forum Julii (Fréjus).

It ran straight across country to Aquæ Sextiæ by the most direct route for the Romans. From Aix it passed by Ernaginum to Beaucaire—Tarascon, the Rhône crossing-place, and then made straight for Narbo. This road was essential to land communication with Spain. Other roads were built. Old soldiers settled in the country.

Their training made all Roman soldiers pioneers. They had to contend with forests and great marshes. But the situation of the Province was exceedingly favourable. It was near to Italy. It had a delightful climate. There must have been many settlers at once. Then the Government brought officials, and they had wants which must be supplied. Some of their followers, too, would remain in the Province. They brought trade and protected it. The very record of the extortion of the governor shows the actual riches of the Province, and this in a time of unrest. It had only to know peace to make a great advance.

Julius Cæsar took measures to secure this. He obtained the consulship of Gaul in 58 B.C. He found himself governor not only of Cisalpine Gaul (plain of Lombardy) and Transalpine Gaul (the Province), but also of farther, independent, Gaul. It rested with him to decide whether the safety of the Province necessitated measures against the rest of Gaul. At the moment of his appointment there was pressing danger from the migration of the tribe of the Helvetii. He defeated them at Bibracte, and dispersed the survivors. This seemed to make him a champion of Gaul for the Gauls, and his help was invited against German tribes under Arriovistus. Having defeated them, Cæsar still did not retire upon the Province ; his army was quartered for the winter at Besançon. It was clear to him that there was no safety for the Province, no security in Italy indeed, unless there was rest in Gaul. For the moment he had the confidence of Gallic chiefs ;

some had been Rome's allies for several years. If Gaul could be civilised, Rome would present a united front to the German tribes. It was to this task that he gave himself for the next eight years. He saw at once how important Vienna (Vienne) was in the struggle, that it was really a key-position. He set himself to win the affection of the Allobroges, from whom the Romans had taken it. Thanks to their support, he was able to bring his difficult campaign to a successful conclusion. But several times the Romans suffered the severest losses. They were even defeated in battle. It was difficult to master tribes who had such places of refuge as the wild coast of Brittany or the marsh and forest of Belgium. The unexpected co-operation of the tribes for a short time under Vercingetorix was a serious check. But Cæsar defeated him at Alesia (near Clermont Ferrand), and at last the country was subdued.

The moment had now come for Julius Cæsar to take his irrevocable step forward. Since the confusion in Rome had delegated power to one man, why should not the man be Cæsar rather than Pompey? When, therefore, Cæsar crossed the Rubicon and marched on Rome, how did this affect the Province? Pompey had gone to the eastern colonies for reinforcements. Cæsar determined to secure Spain. He returned to the Province *en route* for Spain.

At Massilia he was delayed. Massilia and her dependencies were still Greek. But its Hellenism was weakening. Roman influence was creeping

in, and the citizens sometimes sought the privilege of Roman citizenship. It might assert neutrality, but would it maintain it ? It could hardly have felt much sympathy with Cæsar. He had declared himself a democrat. He had revived ceremonies in honour of Marius, the leader of the people's party. He had built a monument in the Province to celebrate Marius's victory there. He had identified himself with the people. Massilia, on the other hand, was governed by an oligarchy. Its traditions were solid, anti-revolutionary. It might easily declare against him, and endanger his line of communications. In all probability Massilia expected a siege ; for which it was well prepared. Cæsar resolved to march on to Spain himself, while detaching Trebonius to lay siege to it, with Decimus Brutus to help him at sea. Arelate (Arles) was forced to supply ships against her mother town. Arelate was, of course, a seaport, and must have been a busy one ; she was able to produce twelve warships within thirty days of felling the trees for their construction. Brutus won two naval victories. At last, too, the walls were mined. After a brief armistice, the attack was renewed, and the town surrendered unconditionally to Julius Cæsar. This was the end of its independent rule. All the towns under its dominion came into Roman power—itself was allowed a gradually dwindling shadow of autonomy.

The fall of Massilia greatly extended the Roman administration. Narbo, Aquæ Sextiæ, Vienna, Massilia, and all the Greek settlements now

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BANDAUR

[illegible]

formed the Province under Imperial government. As a comparatively old colony it was administered by the Senate ; the adjoining colony of Gaul was administered by the Emperor himself. Great difference of conditions distinguished the Province from the rest of Gaul. Inhabited chiefly by Ligurians, colonised by Greeks, it came early and without great conflict under Roman rule. Gaul, on the other hand, had its Gaulish population, with no strong outside influence on it, and came into Roman hands later, after prolonged struggle. The contrast is marked.

HOWARD J. HARRISON

IV

THE ROMANS (*continued*)

Administration of Gaul—Contrast administration of the Province
—Political condition of Roman colonies—Trade—Social life—
Education and arts—Religion.

BUT there were other causes at work to differentiate the Province from the rest of Gaul. How were they administered? The Province was completely Latinised once and for all. But in Gaul the administration was taken over by the Romans as it was, and merely regulated. Conciliation was a necessity arising from the independent spirit of the Gaulish tribes. Throughout Gaul tribal government was spared. Nor were any Roman towns founded which gave Roman citizenship, with the sole exception of Lugdunum (Lyons). There was just this one great city of Gaul which was a burgess colony. It became exceedingly important, as a centre of trade, as possessing a mint (the only one in the west, Massilia's having been suppressed), as having a standing garrison—though this was only twelve hundred men; emperors and princes when in Gaul resided at Lugdunum. It was the focus of the road system. It became the centre of the government institutions, and of the Celtic diet. Until the third century it maintained this leading position, yielding then to Trèves, Diocletian's capital of the Empire of Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

There was, then, this great Roman city on the one hand, and, on the other, the tribal cantons with no Roman franchise at all. But they had gained what they had never enjoyed before—a form of national representation conferred on them by Augustus. Their diet met at Lugdunum and administered property. It had the right of bringing complaints against Imperial and domestic officials. This partial self-government was carried further in Gaul than anywhere else. Other concessions were made. The Romans introduced fresh customs, but did not attack old ones. Thus the worship of the Emperor was introduced, and, at the Celtic diet, the priest elected by the Gauls sacrificed at the altar to Roma and the Genius of the Emperor, and then presided over festal games. But, on the other hand, no measures were taken against the national religion. The Romans feared the Druid priesthood and the influence of the yearly council of Druids at Chartres. They feared it so much that it has been thought possible that Cæsar invaded Britain partly with the idea of striking at the roots of Druidism. Yet in Gaul the Romans tolerated it. As to language, again, Latin was never forced on the Gauls. Before it became the language of the Government, when the Romans were no nearer than the Province, educated Gauls had sought to learn it because it was the language of civilisation. Now more than ever they inclined to learn it. But Celtic was generally spoken, and there are some Celtic inscriptions. There was no pressure with regard to language. It was Christianity, preached in Latin,

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which eventually ousted Celtic. Similarly, the Roman mile measurement was introduced in Gaul as throughout the Empire. But gradually the Gallic *leuga* (lieue) superseded it ; the Romans let it pass.

Altogether the policy of the Government was conciliatory. Such a stubborn people could only be won gradually. It was largely on this account that the franchise was so long denied them. Those who had served in the army would have gained rights of citizenship on leaving, but they alone. And they were not allowed to become magistrates, so that they could not enter the Senate. Not till A.D. 48 did Claudius admit Gaulish nobles to the Senate ; he himself had been born at Lyons. After a while a very few cantons gained civil rights. Gaul, indeed, at first was barbaric, and even permitted human sacrifice. Only very gradually it acquired Roman civilisation. Probably the eastern part of the country developed first, in contact with Lyons, and in the proximity of the Rhine. Gradually, however, the Roman peace won the people. It made agriculture prosperous, made trade flourish. Corn-raising and cattle-breeding enriched the nobles, whose magnificent country houses and parks were numerous. They remained a fighting and hunting class (it is interesting to note that not only were the Roman cavalry recruited in Gaul, but technical phrases and movements were Gaulish). Towns were very infrequent and hardly more than villages. They might be two or three days' march apart. Even then they were not cities in the civilised sense.

They were neither planned nor fortified, but were rather a confused collection of buildings. Lyons stood quite by itself.

Very different was the Province. Where Gaul had the one burgess colony of Lugdunum, the Province was covered with colonies, and the traveller on a journey slept every night in a Roman city. All these cities were organised throughout according to Roman municipal law. They were either earlier settlements or were founded at strategic points. Accordingly, old soldiers were sent to them as colonists. To Narbo were sent old soldiers of Cæsar's Tenth Legion, to colonise. He made it the most populous city in Gaul or the Province. Forum Julii (Fréjus) was founded with settlers from the Eighth Legion. It became the chief station of the Imperial fleet. Arelate (Arles), formerly a Greek settlement, was a place of great importance. Colonists were sent from the Sixth Legion. It gradually superseded Narbo and Massilia as the centre of Gallo-Roman commerce. A central town like this came to have authority over the small towns round it. Thus Nemausus (Nîmes) is said to have held authority over twenty-four smaller towns, each of which had Latin rights like herself. Nemausus was a canton converted into a municipal community (canton of the Volcæ), and similarly Vienna (Vienne) was the urban organisation of the Allobroges. In the early Empire, throughout the Province, these centres were organised on the basis of Latin rights, as also Avennio (Avignon), Apta (Apt), and Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix).

In all these communities, those burgesses who had held office in their native city or the Imperial army stood in law on a footing of complete equality with the Italians. They attained to offices and honours in the Imperial service. So that it is not surprising that, by the close of the Augustan age, the country along both banks of the lower Rhône was completely Romanised in language and manners. Under the Imperial Government it rose to great prosperity and vigorous urban development. It was a fig and olive country: vine culture had been encouraged by the Greeks, and flourished to such an extent that Italy feared the competition. For a time the vine became an Italian monopoly, and was destroyed in the Province. But presently vines were permitted here, though not elsewhere. Horse- and cattle-breeding was an important industry of the plains about Arles. As in Gaul, there was worship of Celtic divinities. But it is important to note that there was no Druid priesthood—probably because it was originally Ligurian rather than Gaulish. And the Greek element continued in force. Massilia was now only a moderate-sized provincial town. But it continued to spread Hellenic culture, and it affected a large area. Greek influence still showed itself in various ways. Thus, when Pompeius Trogus wrote a history of the world, Rome took a subsidiary place in it. Favorinus of Arles, a philosopher and rhetorician of Hadrian's time, wrote in Greek. Orators competed in Greek as well as in Latin. Latin was the usual language for coins and inscriptions, but

the few Celtic inscriptions of the Province were written in Greek characters (Roman were used in Gaul). Even the language persisted : as late as A.D. 540 a congregation was invited to sing the anthems in Greek when waiting for the service.

One would like to picture life in this highly Romanised Province with its flavouring of Greek. Roman provinces were governed at first by a military general. The appointment only lasted for a year. It was generally recognised as an opportunity for self-enrichment. Under the Republic, though the Senate had theoretical control over provincial administration, it did not sufficiently exercise its powers because it was too busy with home affairs. There was a time in the early days of the Province when administration was very oppressive : the northern part revolted in a last effort for independence. The autocratic power of the governors was used not only to enrich themselves, but also all manner of land-grabbers, speculators, and adventurers. Under the emperors, the drawbacks of the previous system were recognised. An Imperial Civil Service gradually replaced the earlier magistrates. The new Service aimed at a better development of the country's resources, as well as at a more uniform government. Its inspiration was the advantage of the Imperial rulers. But the Romans realised that their advantage lay in the prosperity of the subject States. Many emperors spent more time in the colonies than at Rome. Their personal oversight was itself beneficial.

Government became more centralised ; at the same time it extended over an ever-larger area. The efficiency of the administration was increased by the centralisation and uniformity, and by the growth of a class of men qualified to administer. It had always been the policy of the Romans to interfere as little as possible with the customs of conquered peoples. Probably there was more municipal freedom in the colonies than at Rome. At the same time, they gained privileges of trading or citizenship which were exceedingly valuable. Legions were raised among the subject peoples, but, on the other hand, peace was widespread. The time-expired auxiliaries automatically acquired the privilege of citizenship, together with their families ; and, as seen above, throughout the Province most of the towns had rights of citizenship.

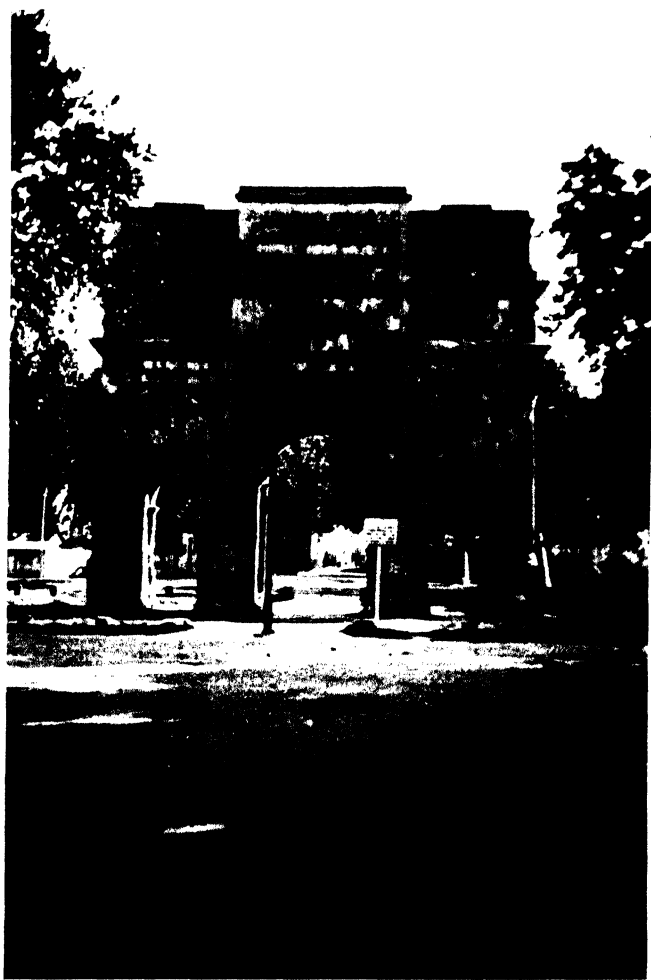
Within the Empire was settled peace and flourishing trade. Roman dominion in the Province meant extended corn-lands and olive-groves, increased herd-raising. It enriched all agricultural industry, all the fisheries. Rome had to be fed. Then stone was needed for roads and bridges ; quarries were active. Timber was wanted for shipping. Manufactures of all sorts were encouraged. Where there had been a few scattered weavers, there were now settlements of artisans. The luxury trade was enormous. And there was plenty of money to develop the country : some of the great Roman families held large accumulations of capital which they were glad to employ in this way. In many cases towns were created

by the Romans. Life had been tribal, rural; they made it social, urban. We hardly realise how closely populated it became in their hands. It is authoritatively stated that a hundred stone amphitheatres existed in Gaul and the Province, besides scores of others of less lasting materials. Communication was easy over the excellent Roman roads. The Government officials had the advantage of the Imperial posting system. Indeed, travelling in general was easier than it has been at any period since until about a century ago.

Plenty of scope was given to ambition. Even slaves could free themselves. They were able to make money in various ways, and some gained their freedom by purchase. Others were freed by the humanity of their masters, for there was often a close tie between slave and master. From the freedmen the early emperors drew their first Civil Servants, and as stewards and traders the class gained wealth and importance. From the inscriptions connected with their dining-clubs and burial-societies much more has been learnt recently of the working-man class (a favourite charitable endowment was the provision of education for the poor). In the Province there were associations (known as colleges) of muleteers, chair-makers, flower-sellers, innkeepers, bakers, and sailors. These last were highly respected: at Nîmes forty places were always kept for them in the amphitheatre. There were also associations of *utricularii*, the men who navigated the fens on their rafts supported by inflated skins.

For the upper classes, too, careers were thrown open. Every member of the senatorial or equestrian orders had his opportunity as a subaltern in the auxiliaries. From this he might rise to high administrative posts, as well as to military ones. Probably the high-born girl benefited by the introduction of Roman ideas as much as her brother. Roman boys and girls received the same education in literature. In the British Museum there is a tablet representing a girl of ten sitting reading a scroll, with her dog beside her. The girls also learnt dancing, music, and other accomplishments. In religion women were on a footing of equality with men, for women were priestesses. It is said that there were even women doctors at Lyons and at Nîmes. Women controlled their own money ; there are many records of their generous gifts to cities.

And now arose the beautiful buildings in which the Romans delighted. Here a forum was built, there baths. To this town was added a colonnade ; in another an arch or a portico commemorated the achievements of an emperor. Theatres and amphitheatres were erected, streets were paved, temples were consecrated, aqueducts carried an abundant water supply, fountains made it free to all. " In fifty years they had to construct by hundreds—even by thousands—temples, theatres, amphitheatres, baths, basilicas, aqueducts, villas, mausoleums." Artists came from Italy and Greece and executed work all over the Province. Sculptors were needed as well as architects. Theatres were enriched with statuary and bas reliefs ; the



ORANGE: TRIUMPHAL ARCH.

temples had their statues of the gods ; tombs and memorial arches, sarcophagi, and fountains were carved. Of the magnificent basilicas no example remains ; but that built at Nemausus by Hadrian was the wonder of the south. Mosaics were very popular. Tombs were elaborate. And yet another form of decoration was by inscription.

Buildings and decorations were often gifts to a city. Other such gifts were schools, hospitals, and almshouses, but these are rather exceptional outside Italy. Money was frequently left for an annual dinner in memory of the donor. From this custom sprang the dining-clubs and burial-societies, in which the working classes supported each other. Theatrical entertainments, which were religious by nature, were often offered to a town by leading men. Sometimes the town voted money for them. But the most frequent gift to a town, perhaps, was a spectacle. Sometimes there were merely jugglers, acrobats, and dancers. Occasionally there might be a chariot race, but this was a costly form of entertainment. The most common amusement was the gladiatorial spectacle. There are more inscriptions to gladiators than to any other professional performers. The gladiatorial combats held such a very important place in Roman life that they must affect our estimate of Roman civilisation. The public even witnessed the sight of criminals thrown to the animals. Animals themselves were slaughtered by the score. The condition of public feeling can hardly be realised. Every class of society attended ; the amphitheatres held very

large numbers, and were so planned that the audience could enter and leave very rapidly.

Every activity of life was fully developed in the colonies, and seemed to make it as absorbing as in Italy. There was even literary life and intercourse. Pliny is glad that his minor writings find a favourable reading and booksellers to push them even in Lyons. But Rome drew to itself the greatest provincial talent.

At Rome were held the great literary festivals, where the winning poet was crowned with a wreath of ears of corn. The ambitious poet, playwright, or lawyer would seek his audience at Rome. Narbo sent Votienus Montanus to Rome, Nemausus sent Gnæus Domitius Afer: these were both orators. The province of Spain produced three such famous men as Seneca, Martial, and Quintilian. An immense field was open to talent. And peace fostered the civilised arts. Even during periods of disorder in Rome itself, there was prosperity in the colonies. The excesses of bad emperors did not necessarily affect provincial administration. Even under Nero, never had there been such profound peace as in the colonies. And from A.D. 212 the Roman citizenship was conferred on all free men throughout the colonies, so that Italy no longer held a more favoured position than they. Thenceforward no free inhabitant of the Empire could be beaten or tortured or put to death without trial. Every man had the right of appeal against the governor.

In religion the Province showed itself as

tolerant as Rome. Early Roman religious ideas tended to be material, of the nature of a contract. In return for certain rites offered to him, the god gave certain protection or help. United with this materialistic tendency was a superstition which peopled every spring or grove with nymph or god, and gave to every household its *lares*. In this the population of Gaul resembled them. Both, too, shared the conception of the spirit of the individual—to be worshipped in his lifetime in the case of the Emperor's Genius; in every man to be honoured at death as the *manes*. It was the *manes* who rejoiced to hear his epitaph read by the passer-by; therefore tombs were placed along highways. Then just as the Romans readily adopted new gods from other countries in addition to their own, so did the peoples of Gaul. At Nemausus the Roman temple was dedicated to Diana and the Nymph of the Spring. Imitating this tendency, the Gauls assimilated their local deities to classical gods with like characteristics. The process was very gradual, but eventually the latter triumphed, and the old holy places became temples to the gods. Both Greek and Roman conceptions were already fused in this classical pantheon. In time the old Gaulish idea was so completely lost that the Gauls recollected none of their own mythology. One Gaulish goddess survived, to become the patron of stables and circuses throughout the Empire. This was Epona, who is depicted mounted on a horse, with a foal and a dog running beside her. Rome drew on Gaul and the Province for her horses and cavalry;

hence, no doubt, the survival of Epona. But other local deities disappeared, and Apollo and Mercury were made welcome. In the Province the Greeks had taught the population to know many of their gods, and especially Artemis, the patroness of Massilia and of her dependent cities. Apollo, Mercury, and Artemis became popular in the Province, and others of the gods figured in the temples.

But, in Rome, later Greek teaching and cosmopolitan influences had weakened the old religious ideas. On the one hand, Greek philosophy suggested a more critical outlook. On the other, the cult of Dionysus introduced a mystical and sacramental conception of religion. This conception received wide currency in the religious representations of the theatres. Of these the Province had several, a peculiarly Greek feature (possibly Rome itself only had one). In general there was a groping after an idea with more feeling in it, more relation to human aspiration and grief.

This accounts for the wide dispersion of the religion of Magna Mater or Cybele. In the Province, Cybele had many altars, and it is thought that one remains in the crypt of Les Saintes Maries, once her temple. Another is in the Arles museum. Cybele loved a youth, Attis ; but he was unfaithful. His penitence and longing for her lost love caused him to mutilate himself, but he was restored in the worship of a choir of priests who had imitated him. These events were symbolised in the festival when his sacred tree was wreathed with violets and borne in procession

to the temple. On another day followed the procession of the goddess, in the form of a sacred stone, elaborately robed. With the worship of Magna Mater was associated the rite of the *Taurobolium*; the consecrated bull was slaughtered on a raised place, from which his blood flowed down to bathe and purify and strengthen the worshipper.

The worship of Isis influenced Rome and the western provinces of the Empire for nearly five hundred years. The original Egyptian religion had been modified by Alexandrian thought, and then Hellenised, before it reached Rome. So that it is not misleading to say that Isis takes the place of Demeter, and Serapis or Osiris the place of Dionysus. It is characteristic of all religious conceptions at this time that they merge in one a variety of ideas, of attributes, borrowed from different sources. Isis is described as "of myriad names." She was the guardian of the spring (like the Nymphs), the protector of sailors, of women in childbirth, the queen of peace, and the guide to a world beyond the tomb.

Serapis was the lord of the elements, the dispenser of good, the master of human life. The lotus was the symbol of immortality—and in immortality rose a fresh aspiration. This was a monotheism which taught purity, a coming judgment, and a future life: it embodied a real religious feeling. It spread rapidly: everywhere in the Roman world were seen the priests in their white vestments celebrating an elaborate ritual. No doubt Isis was worshipped all over the Province:

definite traces have been found at Fréjus, Marseilles, Arles, and Nîmes (as at our own York). There is a bust of Jupiter Serapis in the museum at Avignon.

But it was Mithraism which seemed at one time to challenge Christianity. Perhaps it was the most powerful of the Oriental religions of the Empire. Nature worship and symbolism were fused into a disciplined way of life which provided nourishment for the soul. It set forth an ideal of purification and a hope of a second life. Mithra was originally the god of light in the abstract ; Persian contact made him the god of the sun. The teaching of Mithraism was that the soul descends to dwell in the prison of the flesh ; if it has lived purely, it can rise again after death, reaching ever higher, till received into eternal light. It has common ground with Christianity. To the religion of Isis it was opposed, but from that of Magna Mater it borrowed the *Taurobolium* and symbolic baptism : moreover, devotees of Magna Mater sometimes made offerings to Mithra. It was notably a soldier's religion, and continued such after the introduction of Christianity ; because the primitive Church denied the sacraments to professional shedders of blood. Soldiers brought it from Asia Minor to Rome, and then spread it throughout the Empire. And Syrian merchants carried it to the Mediterranean ports, along the Massilian coast, and elsewhere. It existed everywhere in the Province ; there is a statue in Arles museum, and traces also persist at Narbonne. Taurobolic altars have been found at

Tain, Valence, Gap, Orange, Nîmes. (At all the guard-posts of Hadrian's Wall from Tyne to Solway were chapels of Mithra). Its great festival was celebrated on December 25th, the beginning of the lengthening days, of the sun's fresh activities. A whole chain of incident is associated with the life of the god, but the central act is the slaughter of the bull, from the blood of which there rises fresh springing life and fertility.

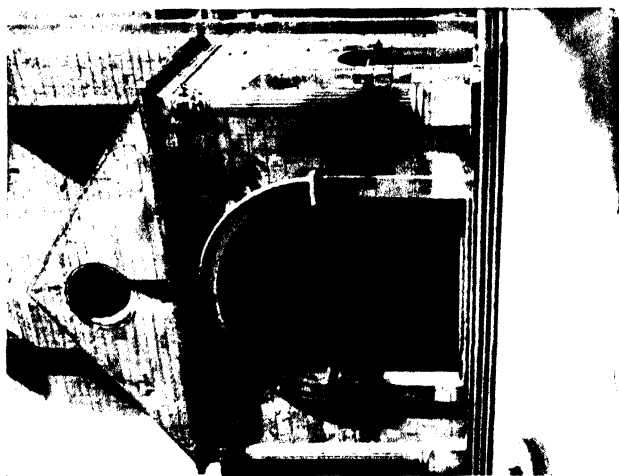
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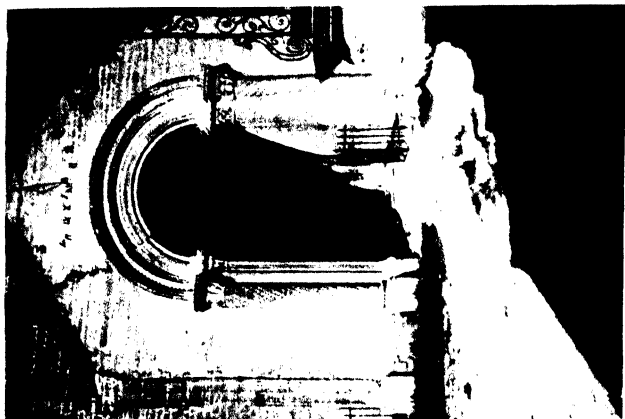
CHRISTIAN PROVENCE

The fifth century—Continuity of Empire—Government by bishops and counts—Saracens—Boson, Hugues—Imperial tie vague—Good government by local counts—Difficulty of sharing rule—Grievance of des Baux.

CHRISTIANITY, according to tradition, was brought to Provence by Trophimus, a disciple of St. Peter. His cell—an underground cave—may be seen at Montmajour Abbey. He became first bishop of Arles. On account of his actual association with apostolic teaching, his see of Arles took precedence of all the sees in Gaul. By the fifth century, Christianity was widespread in Gaul and the Province. Religious bodies were founding schools. There were already monasteries; but until the seventh century the only written rule was that of Cæsarius of Arles. The nobles were usually Christian. Many of them began the day with religious service in their private chapels. On occasions of Church festival, a large part of the day was given up to services. Pilgrimages to shrines were customary; Gaul had had its Christian martyrs, like Rome. In the fifth century, the bishops were the most respected class of the population. The dying Roman power found no outlet for the activities of men of noble rank. Even if a man held office, he was obliged to retire



VIEW FROM THE CATHEDRAL.



THE THICK PORCH.

young, and to seek interests in personal occupations, his own estate, literature, hunting. But the Church was alive and active, and the bishops became trusted leaders. The Goths and Burgundians were already in southern Gaul. To deal with them, leaders were needed. Many men of rank, with ideals of service, gladly took the office.

To modern ideas it is extraordinary that there should have been any tranquil organised life at this time. The Goths were in western France and spreading into Spain. The Burgundians were overrunning the Rhône and Saône districts. Before long, Clovis was to establish the Frankish monarchy. But there was little actual fighting. Auvergne alone attempted organised resistance. The populace had suffered much from corrupt administration in the last years of the Empire. The change, therefore, hardly implied addition to their hardships. The nobles suffered only in loss of land which they could well spare.

And it is a mistaken conception to think of the new governments as entirely barbarian in outlook. It is a most striking fact that the barbarians sought to maintain a Roman tradition. To us it seems that the fall of Rome brought a new epoch. But that was not at all in the mind of those living then. The old Empire seemed to them to continue, under different conditions. The widespread Roman citizenship had brought every nationality into touch with office and government. It might be said that there were no strangers in Rome. And the barbarians felt an inherited respect for the great Empire on which they sought

to model their early institutions. They had no wish for mere destruction. The wiser of them wished to take advantage of the organisation they found in being. By barbarian strength they sought "the glory of renewing and maintaining the fame of Rome" in which they held themselves as lieutenants of Rome. The confusion of changing power conveys nothing to us. But the predominance of this leading idea gives unity to the confusion.

It was a symbol of the continuity of the Empire that the district of the old Province was governed, as under the Romans, by a *patrice*. For a short time Avignon, Aix, and half the territory of Marseilles were taken from Provence and added to Auvergne, in the government of Austrasia—a fact only notable for results mentioned later; the period of division was comparatively short. These *patrices* sometimes took sovereign authority; their heads appear on coins struck at the mint at Marseilles. Very likely the *patrice* was a leading count. Under Goths and Burgundians the country was organised by bishoprics, and to each bishopric was attached a count, with duties to perform. Gradually one count gained more power than others. The counts of Arles and Vienne were important persons in the sixth and seventh centuries. Then the official counts began to disappear, and, after the disorders caused by the Saracens, land which had lapsed to the suzerain was given by him to new men, who perhaps had found opportunities of distinguishing themselves in the confusion. It

is thought that the families of Fos, of Marignane and Reillane (which gave bishops to Arles), and of des Baux originated in this way.

But a fresh influence was about to dawn in the Province, and events were to occur which affected it far more than distant changes in Imperial government. The leading event of the eighth century was the Saracen invasion. The great Mahommedan movement began in the seventh century. By 711 they were establishing themselves in Spain. Thence they crossed the Pyrenees in 721. They took Carcassonne, and lost it again, and occupied Narbonne, Nîmes, and Béziers. From there they marched north as far as Poitiers, but were defeated in 732 by Charles Martel, King of the Franks. In their march southwards, or a year or two later, they seized and occupied Avignon and Arles. Between 736 and 739 they made three inroads. Soon after 740 they were dislodged from most of the district, but Narbonne they retained till 760.

But this was not the end of the Saracens in Provence. They also came from the coast. The accident of a storm first carried a score of them to the shore of Provence. Landing at night, they entered the village of Freinet and massacred the inhabitants. Then they established themselves near by, in the Chaîne des Maures, as it was subsequently named after them. They were surrounded on all sides by prickly scrub, and accessible by one path only. They were almost impregnable, and could sweep down on the plains below at their ease. They sent to Spain for

others to join them. Though only a hundred came, they were strong enough to pillage as they wished, on account of the factions in Provence. Gradually more joined them. One big effort was made to dislodge them, but they regained their strength. At last a diplomatic count, who was threatened with an attack from Hungarian soldiery, contrived to employ Hungarians against Moors. In 963 they were so far defeated that some were sold as slaves in Arles market. But it was only in 990 that their stronghold was destroyed. Not long before this they had captured an abbot of Cluny. Perhaps such audacity gave unity to Provençal faction at last. This was the end of the mountain fort. But for a century it had defied authority. And before that the Moors had overrun the Rhône valley. Their passage was another element in forming Provence, another essence differentiating it from the rest of France. The Crusades were to deepen the imprint that they had made. The Saracens had gone, but in literature and thought their influence survived them.

During this time there was dissension and rivalry in Provence. The authority of the Empire was too distant to maintain order. This is the reason why the Saracens were able to maintain their position so long. In 870 Boson became the leading figure as King of Burgundy and Provence,¹

¹ The kingdom of Arles and Burgundy should not be confused with the later dukedom of Burgundy. The Burgundian Empire of the Dark Ages had split into three parts. One showed Germanic sympathies; a second tended to associate itself with the great French fiefs, and later became the dukedom of Burgundy. The third was the kingdom of Arles and Burgundy.

holding his kingdom from the Emperor. He governed Viennois (later known as Dauphiné), Savoie, Lyonnois, and Provence. Arles was his capital, though he resided more often at Vienne. He was succeeded by Louis, who aspired to the Imperial Crown and was blinded by his enemies. A stronger man followed, and held it independently of Burgundy—Hugues, Count of Provence. His life was one long struggle, by force and by political marriages, to ensure his position. He married first the mother of Rudolph II of Burgundy. To strengthen the alliance, he married his brother to Rudolph's sister. Brother and sister-in-law plotted against him, so he started afresh. When Rudolph died, he arranged for his son to marry Rudolph's daughter, and himself married the widow. His third wife was the widow of another brother of his. She had also been the Pope's mistress. The present Pope was her son, so could hardly protest. In spite of his policy, Hugues was obliged to promise Provence to the house of Burgundy. But he never surrendered it. He spent his last years in his strong cities there. The Saracens were then still wasting the country. He enlisted their alliance against his enemies.

During the conflicts of the eighth and ninth centuries, Provence had had little help from Imperial authority. Then, during the sovereignty of Boson and the strong rule of Hugues, Imperial rule became a distant abstraction. A period of a hundred years now ensued, from 947, during which it became still more shadowy. Hugues

died in 947, when Burgundy succeeded to Provence and immediately appointed fresh counts. Order appeared ; a period of settled government was beginning. Presently two counts, brothers, were dividing the government of Provence between them : Guillaume was Count of Avignon and Boson Count of Arles. Their family now maintained the rule under the kingdom of Burgundy (which itself was part of the Empire, so that Provence was still under the Empire). In the next generation, Count Guillaume was called Count of Provence ; he and his daughter married into the royal family of France. The next step was that the count became also a marquis ; this implied a march. Evidently the district between the Isère and the Durance became a fortified march or borderland to protect Burgundy against France ; at the same time the marquis continued to be count of maritime Provence. His powers steadily increased, and the king seemed only a suzerain. There were still other counts, over groups of towns, and he appointed vicomtes in charge of individual towns. Thus were created the vicomtés of Cavaillon and Marseilles about 950, and also the vicomtés of Avignon, Sisteron, Gap, Fréjus. Other officials were judges, who not only dealt with lawsuits, but also advised the king ; some of the new vicomtes were drawn from their ranks. In towns where there was neither comte nor vicomte, the leading noble sometimes took the rank of prince, hence Prince of Orange.

At this time the government was usually

shared between two brothers, or two relations. Every member of the family had rights in the succession ; a daughter might lose her rights on marriage if she received a dowry, but not otherwise. There were the beginnings of division in this plan, but for quite a hundred years the government continued in firm hands. More and more the rule depended on the family of the marquis count ; less and less it thought of itself as Burgundian or Imperial. Firm government had replaced the confusion of the Saracen period ; order and quiet were not only established, but enjoyed. This was the period which prepared for the songs of the troubadours, a period of leisure when men developed a taste for cultivated life and were able to lead it without disturbance. The end of the eleventh century saw the house represented only by women—seven women ; was it not perhaps for them that the troubadours sang their early songs ?

But conflict was not distant. At the beginning of the twelfth century, owing to the absence of male issue, the inheritance was divided between three heirs, of whom one was Count of Toulouse. This was Raymond, the hero of the First Crusade by his resolution never to return to his own signory. But it was not to the advantage of Toulouse and Provence that he and three of his family should die in Tripoli, or lose long years in the Holy Land. The other two heirs belonged to the family of Barcelona. Hitherto it had been possible for two near relations—brothers, or uncle and nephew—to share rule without dividing

the country. But now this was out of the question. In 1094 Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, assumed the dignity of Marquis of Provence; Raymond Bérenger of Barcelona became count. With the beginning of the century the country was divided. Raymond of Toulouse gained the march or northern half, which came to be known as the Venaissin, and made Carpentras his capital; Raymond Bérenger acquired maritime Provence, of which the capital was Aix. A small slip was reserved to the third heir, who held the title of Count of Forcalquier (before long it became merged in maritime Provence). Besides this, Avignon, Caumont, Sorgues, and Le Thor were held jointly.

This was not the only likely subject of quarrel. The rising family of Baux was at issue with Raymond Bérenger of Barcelona. The Baux family held certain rights in Salon, Les Baux, Arles, Marseilles, which were independent of count and marquis. During the short period when Provence had been divided and part of it ruled from Auvergne, this strip along the coast had become isolated, so that it was independent of the rest. Raymond des Baux and Raymond Bérenger II had married sisters, and des Baux held that his wife had received too small a patrimony. During the ensuing period these quarrels played a large part in the political situation.

VI

THE MIDDLE AGES

Imperial intervention—Frederick Barbarossa and des Baux—But French influence developing—Rivalry of Toulouse and Raymond Bérenger—Civil war—Albigensian Crusade gives Languedoc to France—Venaissin becomes French—Anjou inherits Provence—Wasting struggle for Naples—France gains Dauphiné—France gains Provence.

DURING the previous centuries Provence had been practically independent, though nominally part of Burgundy and the Empire. The Emperor sometimes resided at Vienne, the capital of Viennois, but did little to strengthen his interest in that country or in Provence. It was a surprising thing, considering its natural riches, attractive situation, and political importance. So slack had the tie become that the Emperor wrote in vain to summon his vassals to join his army. But in 1144 Raymond Bérenger II, Count of Provence, died, and Raymond des Baux, taking this opportunity to renew his claim to part of his wife's inheritance, brought the question before the Emperor. What he gained is rather uncertain, but he does not seem to have been dissatisfied; the family of des Baux continued to maintain relations at the Imperial Court. It was a reminder to Provence that the Emperor had the right to intervene.

With the succeeding Emperor the des Baux renewed their request for support. This Emperor

was Frederick Barbarossa ; he definitely wished to restore the authority of the Empire in Provence. He had more chance than his predecessors because his marriage gave him standing in Burgundy. His predecessors were overlords ; but, as he married the descendant of the count, he held his own fief. One needs to understand this feudal position : thus the Count of Burgundy was usually one person and the King of Burgundy and Provence another. The King or Emperor (for the Emperor was *ipso facto* King of Burgundy and Provence) was the great man ; but the man on the spot had the power there. Frederick held a great diet at Besançon, and impressed his strength on the nobles of Provence as well as of Burgundy. Unfortunately, at this very diet a papal legate expressed the Church's claim that the Empire was held from the Pope. Frederick denied it instantly, and made the grave mistake of quarrelling with the Church.

Here des Baux thought he saw his chance. Frederick set up an anti-Pope ; des Baux supported him. Naturally young Raymond Bérenger III was on the other side ; and when Frederick triumphed in 1162, Raymond Bérenger had to admit the Imperial suzerainty over maritime Provence. But des Baux was no gainer. Raymond Bérenger III was now permitted to marry a niece of the Emperor and count on Frederick's support. Des Baux was left in the lurch, and his castle of Baux and his township of Trinquetaille, suburb of Arles, were both destroyed by Raymond Bérenger. It was a wretched time for the

unfortunate populace of Burgundy and Provence. In order to subject the clergy to his anti-Pope, Frederick let loose a body of Brabançon and German mercenaries. But he was struggling for a lost cause. In Italy his troops were decimated by sickness ; in Provence, the death of Raymond Bérenger III transferred his fief to the house of Aragon, which was indifferent to the Emperor. At last he sought peace. First he was reconciled to the Pope. Then in 1178, on June 28th, he was crowned King of Burgundy at Arles. Here he tried to regain the adhesion of Raymond des Baux by making him Prince of Orange, and he also granted privileges to Raymond of Toulouse, Marquis of Provence. Before the end of his reign, in 1186, he had his successor also crowned at Arles.

This successor, Henry VI, had every reason to value Provence. He had married the heiress of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and Naples ; and Provence should have been the key to his position. But he had not the patience to win support : he dreamed ambitious schemes which came to nothing. He had a quarrel with Richard Cœur de Lion, who had supported a rival claimant to Sicily : the arrest of Richard may have been concerted between the Emperor and Philip Augustus of France. But it proved so highly advantageous to France that the Emperor in alarm devised a wonderful plan—Richard must surrender England to him, and resume it as a fief of the Empire ; in return, the Emperor granted him the kingdom of Burgundy and Arles. It was a magnificent scheme, because it gave the Empire a strong

buffer against France, which was yet part of the Empire. To Richard it would be equally welcome ; he already held so much territory in south-western France that, with Burgundy and Arles, he could overpower the kings of France. But it came to nothing, and Henry's successors were too busy elsewhere to trouble over the kingdom of Arles. It was at this moment that Gervase of Tilbury expressed his amazement at the neglect of such a valuable possession. Gervase was an Englishman who had married a Provençal lady, and was marshal of the Court of the King of Arles. He urged the Emperor to concentrate on this key-position, so rich and attractive, as well as politically valuable, rather than engage in fresh conquests.

But the first beginnings of French influence date from the thirteenth century, and the Empire had lost its opportunity. The French kingdom had sprung from one fief, surrounded by neighbours almost as powerful as itself. It was centrally situated, with partial command of the Rivers Loire and Seine. Yet though it gradually increased in strength, still the other fiefs were almost independent of it. All through the period of the Crusades, the kingdom of France was practically battling for its life. In 1214 Philip Augustus definitely achieved supremacy by the victory of Bouvines over a joint English and Imperial force. He gained, from John of England, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. This was the foundation of French power. At the same time, Philip saw events in the south shaping to



ARLES : ST. TROPHIME.

benefit him. The Count of Toulouse was accused of heresy, and forfeited some of his possessions in the Albigensian Crusade. Of these possessions, Languedoc was ultimately ceded to the son of Philip, as the count's overlord. This brought France very near to Provence, made one side of the Rhône Empire and one Royaume. A waiting policy would bring France more and more power.

At the moment, however, the Emperor, in 1215, had conferred the kingdom of Arles and Burgundy on Guillaume des Baux, Prince of Orange. There seems to be no doubt that this really occurred : it was a natural choice. The family of Toulouse was under suspicion of heresy. Raymond Bérenger IV of Barcelona-Aragon was very young. The family of des Baux was important and ambitious. When, therefore, the Marquis of Provence, Raymond VI of Toulouse, was excommunicated, Guillaume des Baux assumed the marquisate. But it was to no purpose. The Pope was unwilling to deprive the Count of Toulouse of all his possessions. Languedoc he had to surrender to Simon de Montfort, the leading figure in the Albigensian Crusade (Simon's son ceded it to France). His marquisate of Provence, the district now known as the Venaissin, he was to be allowed to retain ; though the Pope did not actually restore it to the Empire for him. Guillaume des Baux gained nothing, not even the title of king, which, indeed, he had not assumed. Two years later, in the course of the religious struggle, he was captured by the heretics of Avignon and cut in pieces.

This period of thirty years or more was a

terrible one for Provence. Strong feelings were roused by the religious war. At the same time, the townspeople were developing their powers in opposition to their rulers, lay or ecclesiastical. Marseilles, a town devoted to Raymond of Toulouse, was suffering civil war; the bourgeoisie had first contended with the official vicomtes, and then, joined by them, were struggling against the bishop. Frederick II (Emperor) induced Raymond Bérenger IV and the town of Arles to oppose Marseilles—which then gained Avignon to its alliance. At this moment, too, Avignon found itself besieged by Louis VIII of France. Knowing the Emperor to be hostile to heresy, Louis had counted on being able to cross the Rhône at Avignon, on his way south to join Amaury de Montfort against Toulouse. But a sudden panic seized Avignon, where, after all, Raymond of Toulouse had many followers, and Louis was at a standstill. He was obliged to besiege the town (diplomatically avoiding a quarrel with its Imperial suzerain), and finally to blockade it; this was in 1226. Perhaps Guillaume des Baux was revenged in the stern conditions which were subsequently imposed on it.

The fall of Avignon manifested the growing power of the King of France even in the south. But still the Count of Toulouse was struggling to recover the territory he had lost. By the peace settlement he had been obliged to yield even his Provençal fief (contrary to the Pope's promise). So that Raymond was constantly seeking fresh

alliances to establish his rights and was constantly at war. He and Hugues and Raymond des Baux had been active with Marseilles, Avignon, and Tarascon in alliance against Pope and Emperor. By 1234 the Emperor had lost the support of Raymond Bérenger IV, because Bérenger's daughter Marguerite had recently married Louis IX of France, and was drawing him in that direction. Consequently the Emperor gladly accepted the services of Raymond VII. As a result, Raymond regained the marquisate of Provence, as far as the Emperor could grant it, and, with the help of Barral des Baux, he re-established himself there. Again, in 1241, he had deserted the Empire to make his peace with the Pope. He was rewarded at last: the Pope yielded the march to him not long before his death.

For thirty years the fighting had continued in Provence. The towns grouped themselves differently, according to whether the people's party or the Church party was in power. The Emperor gave verbal support to one party or another, but effectual support he was powerless to give. France, on the other hand, was watching and waiting. French troops had marched through Avignon. The future Louis IX of France had chosen a wife in Provence.

Four or five years later, Raymond VII died in 1249. Now the moment had come for France. Raymond had no son. As a result of the Albigensian Crusade he had been obliged to marry his daughter to Alphonse of Poitiers (brother of

Louis IX). To Alphonse passed his territory. The march was thus definitely alienated from the Empire. Then in 1271 both Alphonse and his wife died on the return from Tunis (Louis IX's Second Crusade). All their territory fell to the French crown. A part of it was retained by France, but the greater part was ceded to the Pope, in 1273, as the Venaissin. A former Pope had discovered its beauties when it was forfeited by Raymond of Toulouse, and it became a cherished papal possession. Its attractions led to the residence of the Popes at Avignon—though Avignon itself remained part French and part associated with the fief of the count of Provence.

This fief was now held by a Frenchman. Raymond Bérenger of Barcelona-Aragon had died in 1245; his daughter found rough wooers. One, the Emperor's son, sent a fleet of twenty galleys to Provence; another marched soldiers from Aragon to besiege her. She was rescued by the troops of Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, who married her and founded the Provençal house of Anjou. The long conflict of Toulouse and Barcelona-Aragon was ended at last. Provence was largely dominated by France. Anti-papal rancour still broke out at first as a result of the religious crusade. Charles of Anjou, whose family had participated in it, was attacked by the three towns under the leadership of Barral des Baux. So strong was the feeling that St. Louis's crusaders, marching southward, were insulted from the walls of Avignon. The saint had to plead with his knights to keep the peace. But

Charles of Anjou came to terms with Raymond des Baux. Raymond yielded his title, never effectual, to the Crown of Arles. In return he was confirmed in his principality of Orange. The country began to weary of fighting. Marseilles made a last struggle ; Charles fell upon the city and suppressed the rising sternly : the walls were razed. This ended the warfare of the towns. Charles was acknowledged the actual ruler. In name, maritime Provence was still an Imperial fief. In fact, since Charles held it, French influence inevitably increased.

It seemed to be the fate of Provence that her rulers should neglect her. The early counts of Toulouse had thrown away the substance of their power there for the shadow of dominion in Tripoli. What had the emperors done for Provence ? Henry VI, to whom it was so vital, had forgotten it. Even Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II, who appeared to value their rights in it, so far from granting it benefits, had only involved it in warfare. Was this the cause of the independence of the people ? So now Charles of Anjou did not rest satisfied with the jewel he had gained. The Pope, wishing to promote opposition against Imperial power, offered Charles the crown of Sicily and Naples, and Charles accepted it.

This involved himself and his house in a prolonged struggle. There was a rival claimant, Pedro III of Aragon, who was married to a daughter of the Imperial house. Sicily, in fact, was only subject to Charles for twelve or fourteen

years. Then the dislike of French rule culminated in the massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers, in 1282, and Sicily was permanently lost. It passed to Pedro and his sons, who contested Naples with Charles's son, Charles II. Charles II was absorbed in the struggle, and hardly visited Provence. But he obtained there full rights in Avignon, which hitherto he had shared with France. Avignon had been under the dual control of count and marquis, so that France had temporarily enjoyed partial rights in it when she inherited from Toulouse. To obtain undivided possession he ceded his suzerainty of Anjou and Maine to another prince of the French royal house, who founded the second house of Anjou, which was also to interest itself later in the kingdom of Naples. Charles was now, therefore, King of Naples and Count of Provence. He also renewed the agreement with the house of Baux. Bertrand IV renounced again the claim of that house to the throne of Arles.

What was the Empire doing at this time ? And what France ? The Emperor of the moment was elaborating plans for reviving the kingdom of Arles in order to bestow it on a useful supporter. First one candidate was named and then another, but nothing was done. The Imperial authority was becoming an empty word. In 1312 France quietly acquired Lyons, in reality a part of Lyonnois, in the kingdom of Arles and Burgundy. It had gained greater and greater independence owing to the indifference of successive emperors ; the tie was easily broken. Again, since the end

of the Albigensian Crusade, the papal officers had collected dues throughout Provence as in France, in aid of papal wars which were actively hostile to the Empire. This, too, tended to sever the Imperial connection, and to assimilate Provence to France. The Emperor Henry VII might bestow privileges in Provence, or, in 1365, the Emperor Charles IV be crowned at Arles ; the power was, nevertheless, passing to France. In future, Viennois, as the Dauphiné, was to give its title to the son of the reigning king of France. Viennois and Lyonnois, forming the Dauphiné, had been originally associated with Provence in the kingdom of Burgundy and Arles. The male heirs of the fief failed in the fourteenth century, and by a succession of treaties it fell to the French Crown in 1349. Thus France had obtained the Venaissin (now ceded to the Pope), and Dauphiné from the dismembered kingdom of Burgundy. Provence would follow them in time.

In Naples, Charles II was succeeded by Robert the Wise, 1309-43, and his granddaughter Joanna I. Provence had been neglected in favour of Naples ; now Joanna was temporarily driven back to it. To ensure her succession her grandfather had married her to a cousin, Andrew of Hungary, whose rights to Naples were through a brother older than himself. Consequently, the Council of Regency, which governed during Joanna's minority, was overweighted by Hungarian influence, which was greatly disliked by the Neapolitans. The upshot was that Andrew was murdered, and Joanna, accused of complicity, found herself at

war with his brother, the King of Hungary, and so fled to Provence—to reinstate herself with the Pope and to obtain money. But a king of Hungary could not maintain a kingdom in Italy. Joanna put herself in funds by selling Avignon to the Papacy, returned to Naples, and persuaded Hungary to make peace. She married four times, but had no children to survive her; the succession rested between the husband of her niece and the branch of the French royal family which was now the House of Anjou. Eventually her nephew by marriage, urged on by the animosity of Pope Urban VI, rose against her and took her prisoner in 1381; his soldiers murdered her in 1382. Her life had made a deep impression on the people of Provence, where she is still remembered in popular tradition.

Her death did not end the connection between Provence and Naples, but it weakened it. The heir she had adopted of the House of Anjou could not gain Naples, which passed from Ladislas and Joanna II (son and daughter to the nephew who had taken Joanna I prisoner) to Aragon, which had an old claim on it. Louis I and Louis II of Anjou held Provence alone, though each in turn devoted himself to the struggle to regain Naples. Only Louis III reigned there. The will of Joanna II gave Naples to Louis's brother René, but René never acquired his inheritance. He struggled for seven years, but had to cede it to Aragon. This was the famous good King René, and well might Provence give him the title, since at least he knew how to value Provence. Satisfied with what he

had, he gave up the futile struggle for an empty claim. At the end of his long reign he had two heirs. For his grandson he provided with the appanage of his first wife. To his nephew, Charles of Maine, he left Provence, with the condition that if he died without children it should pass to France. This was in 1481 ; the following year Charles died.

Three years before, the Emperor had made the Dauphin (now son of the French king) his vicar-general in the kingdom of Arles. What did this mean if not that the Empire was willing to let France gain the ascendancy ? It was inevitable. Of itself, the kingdom of Arles had no vitality. It was merely a name representing a collection of fiefs. One of these, the Venaissin, was held by the Papacy, and did not revert to France till 1791. The others were now in the hands of France.

VII

THE MIDDLE AGES (*continued*)

Social conditions—Dangers of travel—Fire, plague, famine—Children's Crusade—Communes struggling for independence—Consuls and podestàs—Floods—Compagnies—Depopulation—Cœur revives trade.

THE period from 950 to 1100 appears in politics as a period of consolidation, of rehabilitation of authority, and such indeed it was. But it could not at once bring settled conditions to daily life. In daily life men were subject to anxieties and perils which are difficult to realise, even in the light of war experience. In the twelfth century, brigands constantly laid waste the country. A writer describing the journey from Paris to Toulouse speaks of great devastated plains. Villages stood empty, with their houses in ruins, and wild animals ventured from the forest to shelter in them. They, as well as the brigands, were a danger to the traveller. Bridges were few, and the rivers were almost insuperable obstacles. In the district of Arles, conditions were particularly bad. The archbishop was instructed to punish wreckers, robbers of merchants and pilgrims, those who levied unjust tolls on travellers, Aragonais, Brabançon, and other brigands, and those who lodged and assisted them. At last even the populace were roused to take measures. Durand Dujardin, a carpenter of Le Puy, in

Auvergne, believed himself inspired by a vision of the Virgin, and founded the Brotherhood of Peace, whose members were known as the Capuchonnés. The brothers must themselves lead a decent life, and must make war on disorder. It achieved good results, but its tendency was to become democratic and partisan. This led to its suppression by the nobles.

Other dangers were always at hand—famine as a result of the devastation, plague following on famine. Immense outbreaks of fire were also frequent. For, as late as 1200, a premium was still paid to the man who built a stone house, or else he was granted exemption from taxes. Most families lived in miserable huts, which were burnt down over and over again. To all this was added a fresh cause of suffering in the districts (Nîmes, Beaucaire, etc.) which became subject to France after the Albigensian Crusade. In the early thirteenth century they became exposed to all the exactions of royal officials. Their impositions and ill treatment were a serious addition to the existing misery. Men of the type employed, perhaps themselves oppressed by higher authority, were bound to abuse their position.

It was a time, in fact, when men were extraordinarily callous about human life and suffering. This callousness went hand in hand with superstition, exemplified in the passion for collecting relics, in ardent relic worship. Both qualities stand out in the remarkable movement known as the Children's Crusade. In 1212 a young shepherd known as Stephen of Cloyes had a vision

bidding him deliver the Holy Sepulchre. There was an impulse of ecstasy in the air ; other boys were stirred in like manner. Their comrades joined them all over the country. Before long Stephen had collected together thirty thousand children—boys and girls—twelve or thirteen years old at most. The wave of emotion spread to Germany, where a similar movement occurred. Philip Augustus tried to check it in France. The children were told to return to their homes, but would not obey. The Pope favoured them ; he said frankly that they put their elders to shame. Some older people joined them, men and women of all sorts, and they made for Marseilles to obtain shipping. Two shipowners of Marseilles saw their advantage in a very simple scheme. They provided vessels ; two were sunk accidentally, but the remaining five reached Alexandria. There the unfortunate children were sold as slaves. It is a satisfaction to know that the shipowners were eventually hanged for a later piece of treachery. But this was not till 1229, and then the greater number of the slaves were released, after sixteen or seventeen years captivity.

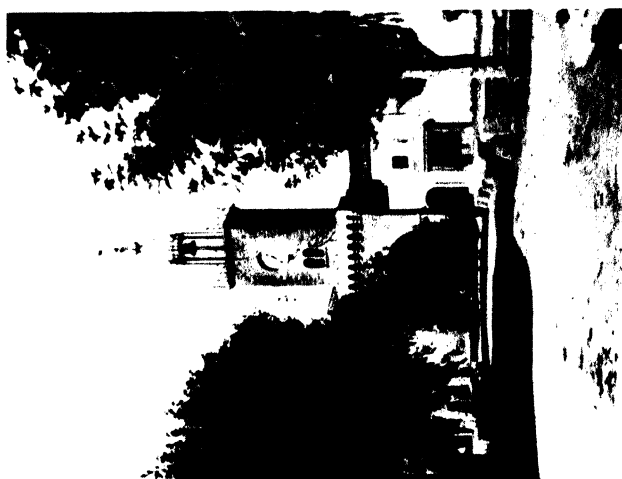
But these two centuries of superstition and suffering, of cruel religious persecution and dissension, were also the time when the communes were freeing themselves. The importance of the towns has been noticed in the conflicts of 1215–50. They found their opportunity in the quarrels of the feudal lords, or in their absence on the Crusades. Raymond of Toulouse left for the First Crusade, sworn never to return to his own land.

Nearly all his family fought in the Holy Land, and four died in Tripoli. This is only one example of what was taking place. If the towns were finding their liberty in the north, how much more in the south, where the towns had been accustomed to privileges and leadership under Greeks or Romans, and could not adapt themselves to feudal overlordship? For the smaller towns it was not so difficult to gain charters; in the case of the large towns, the overlords saw more clearly what they stood to lose, and civil war occurred in some places, lasting months or even years. But in most of Provence and Languedoc there was a gradual transference of authority from seignorial hands to a council, in which the seigneur was associated with councillors. The most prominent of these were the capitouls, or consuls, and by degrees these consuls became of the first importance. Sometimes they co-operated with the feudal lord, as at Montpellier; at Narbonne they were associated with the bishop, the abbot, and the lay power; at Arles with the archbishop. Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II confirmed the privileges of the municipal organisation at Arles as well as those of the archbishop. Within the town the power rested almost entirely with them in a form of oligarchy. The town had a general assembly drawn from the upper classes and the rich merchants; members of the trades were not admitted. The consuls were chosen annually by their predecessors, who had to submit their accounts to them. The consuls had authority over the artisans; they named the Deans of the

Guilds, determined their statutes, settled their disputes, forbade associations of artisans. They had, indeed, all authority except the exercise of justice (and this, again, instances the higher civilisation of the south, which committed the care of justice to specially trained officers). They had also the power to revise and add to their regulations or *coutumes*. Thus at Arles a body of twelve revisers shut themselves up in the archbishop's palace to carry through their amendments ; when they had finished, the archbishop promulgated the results. Sometimes this consular government did not succeed ; the leaders were divided. Then a dictator was appointed in some cases, and not infrequently he was an Italian, and known as the podesta. It was an Italian plan, devised to obtain impartial government. Thus, at Nice, imminent danger from the attacks of Genoa imposed unity and led to the appointment of a podesta. At Arles, disagreements among the consuls caused a podesta to be appointed. At Avignon, civil war arose between the nobility and bishop on the one hand and the working classes on the other ; the people were triumphant, and set up a podesta, who was so well supported that he challenged the siege of Louis VIII. So, too, at one time there were podestas at Marseilles and Tarascon. But this very necessity to appoint an outside and impartial dictator indicates the weakness of the town's self-government—that it was too factious to survive. And when France began to extend her royal power in the south, the independence of the towns was gradually checked.



COURTHÉZON : FOUNTAIN AND GATE.



LE THOR : WALLS AND GATE.

In the fourteenth century there were several very serious Rhône floods. Both plague and brigandage were again prevalent. The year 1347 was the year of the worst outbreak of plague; half the population of France died. At Avignon four hundred died daily. The Pope had the courage to stay in the city, but his cardinals fled. As the mortality increased, trade was at a standstill, food became more and more difficult to obtain, bread was not baked, provisions were not brought in by the country people. In the fields men died at their work and the crops could not be harvested. At the same time the south was suffering terribly from the Compagnies as a result of the continued war between England and France. The Compagnies were bands of men organised into a regular military formation, with all the necessary followers and artisans for their equipment. Several of them gathered at the Pont Saint Esprit, under Hawkwood and others, in 1360. Their immediate object—a treasure which was to cross the river there—they did not obtain; but they gained a strong position threatening all the south. The Pope at Avignon was alarmed, and preached a crusade against them. But no action was taken, and they ravaged all Languedoc, from Nîmes to Albi. A suggestion was made that they should be organised, and employed in Hungary against the Turks. They were actually assembled for this purpose, but Strasburg and Bâle refused them the passage of the Rhine. However, a fresh plan was devised to employ them in a war that was pending in Spain. There was a great assembly at

Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, and there du Guesclin took command of them. They would not depart, however, till, after four days' negotiations, the Pope had supplied them with money and granted them absolution. Eventually a great many men died fighting or of illness. As they weakened, the towns rose against them. The inhabitants of Albi and the neighbouring country defeated some ; so did the people of Narbonne. Some undertook to serve the towns in maintaining order, and gradually the Compagnies, as such, disappeared.

A hundred years later, in the fifteenth century, Provence was still complaining of the effects of brigandage. She had suffered, too, from the corsairs of Alphonso of Aragon, René's rival in the struggle for the crown of Naples. Her shores were deserted, and Italian colonists were being introduced by the big landholders. The ports of Languedoc had lost their prosperity ; the sea no longer reached Narbonne ; Aigues-Mortes was silting up ; Montpellier was almost empty, the result of visitations of pestilence. As for Marseilles, some of her sailors had nothing better to do than sail up the Rhône and capture and enslave the inhabitants of either bank. Slavery appears to have been a fact in the south of France at that moment. Turkish, Russian, Egyptian, and negro slaves were found there.

Prosperity was brought back to Marseilles by a remarkable man, Jacques Cœur. A captain of industry, he compares in character with leaders of the *condottieri* such as Hawkwood, or as Braccia, who was fighting for and against Anjou

at Naples. His motto was "*À vaillant cœur rien impossible.*" Having started with a small inheritance, he obtained a contract from the King of France to coin money, and enriched himself by bad coinage. He was impeached for this, but managed to evade punishment, and in 1432 he made his first venture in the Levant spice trade. His ship was wrecked and himself robbed, but he did not give in. Before long he was trying again, and this time he succeeded in mastering this trade. Once well launched, and with money in his hand, he was able to get into favour with royalty again. Almost certainly he lent the King money ; in any case he made himself a kind of general provider to the nobility at Court. His interests became so general that everyone had dealings with him. He dealt in silks, spices, carpets, china, furs. For René he and his nephew used to bring uncommon animals for the menagerie, foreign curiosities and works of art. He provided sea transport ; he sold slaves. He had a silk factory at Florence ; he had mines in Lyonnais. Elsewhere he had salt works, dye works, paper works. All over France and the Mediterranean he had agents, and was the first to re-establish trade with England in 1444, when peace was declared. He almost certainly abused his power. In the south, where he had official position, he probably took advantage of his privileges to enrich himself. Nor could anyone gain such a fortune without making many enemies. Jacques Cœur fell into disgrace, and Charles VII confiscated his property. He took

refuge in Provence, where René protected him. On the whole, he had done his country signal services. It was he, more than any man, who had restored French trading prestige. Not only to the south, but to the whole country, he had brought prosperity. In enriching himself he had enriched France.

VIII

THE CRUSADES

Importance to Provence—Intercourse with north as well as south and east—Joinville—Provence taking part—St. Louis's crusades—Spanish Crusades—Results for Provence.

It would be difficult to say anything fresh of such a familiar subject as the Crusades. But Provence is so placed that she was bound to play a special part in them, and they were of the utmost importance in her development. The first two, indeed, took the land route eastwards, but, even so, Provence had her share in them, so that it is impossible to omit reference to them.

When Joinville set out for the first of Louis IX's Crusades, he embarked at Marseilles. In order to reach there, his baggage was carted to a town on the river Saône, whence a river-boat took it to Arles. Arles and St. Gilles were then still seaports, and it went on by sea to Marseilles. What thousands of others had taken that route before him ! On the Third Crusade all the eastern and northern districts had probably sent their contingents that way. Perhaps they even came from Normandy by the old tin route, which the Massilians had reckoned at thirty days' journey. But if not, if they took ship, they were certain at least to touch at the ports of the south. And not only Bretons and Normans from the Continent,

but Normans from England too ; we know that they touched at Arles and St. Gilles.

Not only would they need provisions and water. More knowledge of their course could be gained if they put in to Provence. Provence was more in touch with east than north. Her pilots knew more of the conditions of the voyage, the winds to be expected, the difficulties attendant on it ; in a word, they had more experience. Before the Crusades, indeed, their shipping had conveyed scores of the pilgrims who found their way to the Holy Land both by the sea and the land route. Being thus a kind of cross-roads, a sort of natural forum, Provence became also a clearing-house of crusading information. The fresh drafts of men from north and west gained the latest news at Marseilles from the returning vessels. With the coast and river traffic, too, the whole district must have been busy. Immense prosperity came to the ports. Narbonne, Montpellier, Arles, and Marseilles rivalled Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, Venice. During the second half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth they became the centres of the world's trade. The first known letter of credit was drawn on Marseilles in 1200.

With such a perpetual coming and going, with such a constant passage of all classes of men, the stimulus to men's minds would almost resemble that of the Renaissance. It was, indeed, a lesser Renaissance, which bore fruit in the literature and architecture of the twelfth century. If this was true of a great part of France and England, how

much more so of Provence, so closely associated with the whole movement. It contrasts even with Paris and London, and still more with the rest of France and England. For the moment it was the centre of all the stirring life of the time.

In every way the Crusades brought incalculable influences and changes, for the south even more than for the north. The natural conditions of the south, and all its varied inheritance, made it more susceptible to Eastern influence. But now it was to learn of the north too. What did Provence know hitherto of France, Anjou, Maine, and Normandy? She looked towards the sea, or the great river which brought all traffic there. Behind her, the great mountainous mass of central France, embracing Auvergne and the Cevennes, was a solid barrier to intercourse. In Languedoc the great nobles were quite independent, and did not do homage. Even the great religious establishments and the bishops appeared to owe fidelity to no superior. Only a time of general stir and commotion brought north and south into touch as now.

We know most of Louis IX's earlier Crusade from the first-hand description of Joinville, who "would not once look back at Joinville lest my heart soften for the fair castle and sweet children whom I was leaving." The King's mother had begged him to make a record of Louis's sayings and doings. He depicts a man and a king as well as a saint. He himself delighted the King by his perfectly simple, genuine nature. St. Louis asked him if he would rather be a leper

or commit a mortal sin. Instantly Joinville answered that he would rather commit thirty mortal sins than be a leper. One of his stories about the King narrates how, on the return journey, his ship was considered unseaworthy, he was therefore advised to change into another. "To which the King replied, 'Sir, I see that if I leave this ship it will be considered useless; and I see in it eight hundred people or more; and, since everyone loves his life as much as I love mine, none will dare to stay in the ship, and they will all remain in Cyprus. Wherefore, if it please God, I will never set so many persons as are here in danger of death; and so will stay here to save my people.' " On this first of his Crusades the King was in great peril from the Saracens, and even threatened with torture, but his serenity proved the futility of threats. Several times after their lives had been spared they found themselves in fresh danger; at one such moment Joinville found himself on his knees, and "my lord Guy d'Ibelin, constable of Cyprus, knelt beside me and confessed himself to me; and I said to him, 'I give you absolution with such power as God has given me.' But when I arose from thence, never could I remember anything of what he had told and related to me." One of their difficulties was to find sufficient money for the King's ransom. It took two whole days to pay, as the money was all weighed; then there was not enough. It was Joinville who demanded the balance from the Templars, and finally took it himself from their hiding-place because they wished to say they had

been forced to yield it. Of the Crusade one learns much from Joinville. Still, the delightful natures of these two different men are the real attraction of the book.

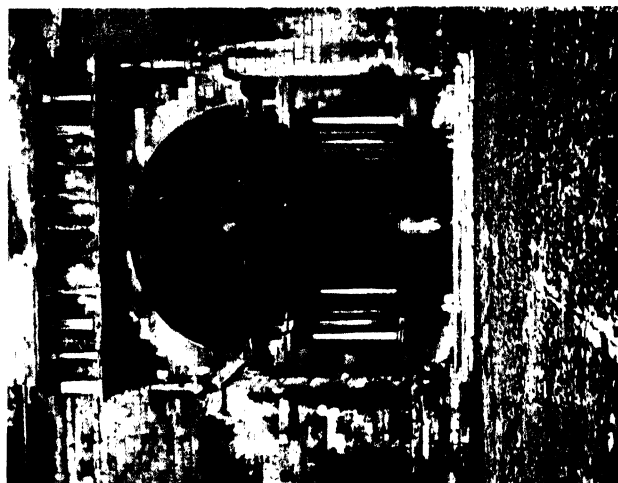
But the First Crusade took place in 1095. There had been a general confidence that the end of the world was to be anticipated at the thousandth anniversary of Christ's birth or death. In England, a man constructed an ark on a high hill, being convinced that awful floods were to arise, in which all would perish except his own family. Many such stories indicate the prevailing attitude of mind. When the years passed with no such event, feeling found expression in a great outburst of piety, and thousands of pilgrims flocked to the Holy Land. Hitherto they had always been well received, but Syria and Jerusalem were captured by the Seljouk Turks, who showed themselves definitely hostile to Christian pilgrims. At the same time, a fresh horde of Moors invaded Spain. Christian Europe assumed a connection between the events, and thought to deal with both at one blow. It was both to check Moorish power and to gain possession of the Holy Places that the First Crusade was proposed ; it was preached at Clermont Ferrand by Urban II.

It was essentially French in character. Probably the Normans in England were too much occupied in settling the country to take part. The leaders were for the most part French barons, who led their forces by land to the East. For this reason neither it, nor the Second, affected Provence so profoundly as the succeeding ones.

But with the French nobles was associated Raymond of Toulouse, who had vowed never to return to his own territory. He led the nobles of Provence and Languedoc (among whom was Guillaume Hugues des Baux). When Jerusalem was taken, after four years' fighting, Raymond is said to have had the offer of the crown. But he continued the war against the Saracens in Tripoli, dying there in 1105; whereupon his son took the cross, and with a fresh army conquered Tripoli (where, in fifty years, four of the family were to lay down their lives).

The Second Crusade was also largely French. The Turkish capture of Edessa had endangered Antioch and Jerusalem and the Latin kingdom there. Louis VII of France took the initiative. He attempted to take Damascus, and was unsuccessful; the Crusade proved a failure. In the Third Crusade, Richard I of England co-operated with Philip Augustus; it achieved little more than the Second. But three generations had now experienced this intermingling of nations, together with long absences from their homes. The Frenchmen of the future now knew one another, and had learnt what to expect of one another; thrown among other races, they found out what they had in common, and prepared the way for the unity of France.

It is a reminder of the limits of France as she was that when Louis IX—St. Louis—wished to set forth on his Crusade he had no starting-point in the south of France. He had to buy land and construct his own port of Aigues-Mortes



TARASCON : ST. MARTHE.



NEAR TARASCON : ST. GABRIEL.

(as it was in alien territory, it was fortified in the reign of his successor). It took him altogether four years to make his preparations, and he lavished money on the work. His two disastrous Crusades both started from Aigues-Mortes ; other forces from the south sailed at Marseilles to join him. The First Crusade involved an absence of six years. After wintering in Cyprus, St. Louis took Damietta, but he was defeated at Mansourah and had to ransom himself. He then advanced into Syria, and re-fortified Acre, Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Sidon, returning home in 1254. Thirteen years later he again took the cross, persuading his followers with more difficulty. His three years' preparations only ended in disastrous failure. Somehow he conceived the idea that Tunis was the key to the situation, that from Tunis the Saracens drew their inexhaustible reinforcements. And he rejoiced to think of liberating the old Christian Thebaïd, land of devout hermits and earliest Christian churches. Carried away by his enthusiasm, he thought of nothing but the end in view, took no necessary precautions. Thus he sailed for Tunis on July 1st, 1290. The sun was sufficient to disperse his army, and he himself was one of the many victims of pest.

But of incalculable importance for Provence was a much earlier outbreak of crusading fervour, of which little is yet known. Even before the First Crusade to the East, began the long series of French crusades in Spain. For more than two hundred years there was a movement into Spain

almost comparable to a migration. The growing power of the Moors there has already been noted. The Christian fiefs of Barcelona and Aragon were struggling for existence, restricted in extent, poverty-stricken, and constantly at war. French monks attempted to spread civilisation; monasteries of Burgundy, of central and southern France, were in constant communication with Spain. It was their perception of the danger threatening which brought about the Burgundian and French crusades. Fighting men thronged to Spain from all parts of France and Burgundy. The period of greatest activity was between 1064 and 1148. One crusade after another was launched by religious authority. And in serving the Church what might not a man win for himself? Stories of almost fabulous plunder excited the adventurous French knighthood. It was a golden field for the younger son. Men came from all southern France, Aquitaine, Poitou, Languedoc, Provence; even Italy sent contingents. Raymond of Toulouse served in Spain some years before he set out on the First Crusade to the East. In 1112 Raymond des Baux led a force from Provence. And when Raymond Bérenger of Barcelona became Count of Provence there must have been a constant movement between his two fiefs. Fighting men were followed by clerks seeking benefices. After them came traders, craftsmen, and labourers, encouraged by authority to settle in Spain. All southern France must have been astir. Every town, every village, participated in the adventure.

And what were the results, then, of the Crusades for Provence ? Briefly summarised, they were these : Provence had followed the lead of France and had come to know French speech and culture. At this time the French language was diffused from England to Syria, and was the means of intercourse to men of every degree, from lawyers and merchants to princes. Social progress had been made at home, partly owing to the absence of the restless baronage, and partly owing to a new conception due to the religious idealism of the movement. The returned Crusaders brought some notions of culture, and a new luxury, both of which inclined them to a more settled and orderly life. This increase of luxury, and the parallel increase of commerce, enriched the towns which had gained greater liberty in the absence of the overlords. New industries were introduced, and there were fresh openings for enterprise at sea. The Crusades were the inspiration of chronicles and epics, and had an especial influence on the lyrical poetry of Provence and Languedoc, the songs of the troubadours. They made both for nationalism and for internationalism. In the mixed concourse thronging to a strange destination, the individual met men of every race, and realised the solidarity of his own.

IX

THE TROUBADOURS

Conditions favourable to poetic revival—Saracen influence?—*Amour courtois*—Current literary forms—Love theme of south—Influence on *romans* and Arthurian legends—And cult of Virgin?—Poets all ranks—Courts of Love—Some Troubadours.

OF all words of power, troubadour—so beautiful in itself—casts a strong spell. On its “viewless wing” one is carried south to King Richard before Acre :

or dipping deep
For Famagusta and the hidden sun
That rings black Cyprus with a lake of fire.

Or one travels the road from one Court to another, to hear sweet songs, “for minstrels from all men on earth get their meed of honour and worship.” But always one looks southwards. The first songs came from William of Poitou, but the home of the troubadours was principally Provence and Languedoc.

The more this is considered, the more natural it appears. The whole western world had been passing through centuries of confusion and strife. Greek and Roman literature had perished years ago ; nothing had replaced them yet except a little religious poetry and some popular songs. But as soon as fairly stable conditions permitted it, literature must revive. For its home was

needed a land with traditions of civilisation and literature. But on these must be superimposed an entirely fresh experience, itself rich in inspiration. Provence, Languedoc, and Spain exactly fulfil these conditions, and at this time shared a common culture (*même patrie morale*). They had all participated in the education of the Roman occupation. To it was added the stimulus of the Moorish sojourn. Provence and Languedoc were enriched, too, by the older Greek inheritance, and were to gain fresh riches in the Crusades.

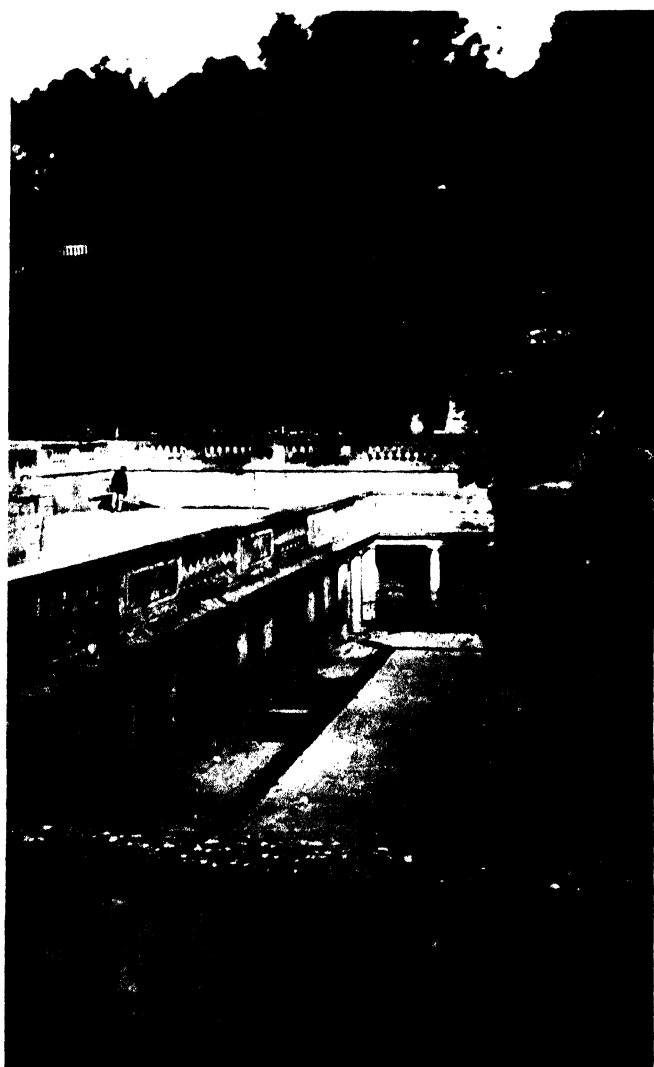
Probably there is yet much to learn about Saracen influence in southern Europe. What share had Moorish inspiration in troubadour poetry? The Moors overran the greater part of Spain, and were constantly warring with the southern provinces of France. They taught the inhabitants to recognise great qualities in them—independence, courage, respect for their word, especially reverence for women. Indeed, they displayed those very qualities which the troubadours attributed to the true knight. One writer even says that the French had the institution of chivalry, but the Moors had the spirit of it. Some authorities consider that this was the spirit at work on both sides of the Pyrenees, that it furnished the entirely new conception which appears fully developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This conception dealt with the relations of men and women, of the true knight and his lady, and was called *amour courtois*.

Amour courtois ennobled the woman and civilised the knight. It made woman the

dispenser of authority and the inspiration moving men to good deeds. Every good quality that he possessed, the knight derived from his love. From love came every good thing, even *d'amour mou castitaz*.

He must demand nothing ; he must give always : nor could he wish otherwise, inspired by his love. He could demand nothing because it was only his love that ennobled him ; love was the reward and the cause of any good thing that might be in him. For his lady he must suffer everything ; all his desire was to her happiness and advantage, and he himself was happy enough in what gave joy to her. He must not seek for reward : but perhaps she might favour him if she chose ; only, his patience must be enduring as that of " the Bretons waiting for Arthur's return."

If one considers for a moment contemporary poetry, one understands better the originality of a conception which later writers have made familiar to us. In literature the north and south of France had developed independently, but on parallel lines. No doubt they had carried over certain literary forms from pagan times. Preserved at first by oral tradition, these were now written down. The spring suggested song ; there were pagan dances—perhaps a survival of primitive worship and fertility rites—which were accompanied by songs. These May songs took several forms, of which the most noteworthy are the *chansons de toile*, sung by the women while weaving, and the *chansons des malmariées* or complaints of the women against their husbands.



NÎMES : ROMAN BATHS IN THE JARDIN DE LA FONTAINE.

Their themes are those of youth and the happiness it ought to have : they are women's songs and popular songs. These forms were found in both northern and southern France, as also a more literary form—the *tençon*, in which two speakers debate a question of love or politics or religion. Taking this material, then, which was common to northern France too, the south added to it its own contribution.

These early songs were for women. Men were not lyrical ; their literature was to be the epics of the twelfth century. And the south was more introspective than the north. It was more highly civilised, government was not so centralised, nor the Church so powerful. Consequently there was greater individualism, and more independence of spirit. And in the south men readily took their tone from women ; they sang for women. Conditions in the south, too, were comparatively peaceful, under the rule of two or three great nobles. These nobles, and many of the lesser lords, enjoyed urban pleasures—were not merely feudal fighters. They liked town life and fêtes, and had leisure to cultivate eye and ear. Above all, they had leisure to make love and to enable women to inspire them. Their literature expresses this : they did not write *chansons de geste*, epic poems. The northern poet of the *Chanson de Roland*, written just at this time, hardly mentions a woman in all his four thousand lines. But the poets of the south made women and love their chosen theme. They did, indeed, write many political *sirventes*, many

satires against the Church, but love became more and more their sole subject. They enriched it with stories brought home from the Crusades. They borrowed from Ovid, and described it as an art that was to be studied as at the schools. And they took the outward forms from feudalism and made the lady the suzerain; the lover placing his hands in hers became her liegeman.

Two things strike one about this *amour courtois*. It was strongly opposed to sensualism. It is true that in many cases it was opposed to morality: the lovers were not and could not be married. Love marriages were incompatible with the political alliances of feudalism. This does not invalidate the nobility of the idea. As a noble idea it lived on; it reached the north of France in the mingling of races at the Crusades. Eleanor of Aquitaine, too, carried it to the Courts of France and England, and her daughters, Marie and Alys, married Counts of Champagne and Blois. Spain and Portugal shared it. In Dante and Petrarch it reappeared. But it is absorbing to trace it in England. There the Normans were asking their minstrels to give them stories of that country. For answer they received the Arthurian legends. Geoffrey of Monmouth put them into written form, and seemed to give them sanction. Meeting the tide of *amour courtois*, they were swept away on it—like the old legendary boat that voyaged without oars and sails, bearing Tristan to the west. And thus were conceived the mediæval *romans* of France,

and a new chivalric tradition for both France and England.

The second striking point is the resemblance that this love bears to religious mysticism. It is something they are not merely to admire with the mind, but also to practise and desire; the phrases used almost bring Thomas à Kempis to mind. One can see how easily it turned to devotion to the Virgin: this was a transition period; her cult had yet hardly gained strength. It is possible that the *amour courtois* movement was not without influence on the sudden impetus that cult received in the thirteenth century.

Not only was this spirit of such great importance. With troubadour verse, poetry was finding itself again. The troubadours exercised great care in the structure of their verse. Each poet devised his own verse-forms. In fact, he was supposed not to repeat himself; each poem had its own special metre and rhyme combination. They also concerned themselves with the choice of words. What they built from these materials was an entirely different structure from that of popular traditional songs. To them, poetry was an art, in which perfection of form could be attained. Thus their verse was not merely local, or temporary, but took on a universal character. It derived, in fact, from the great classic tradition.

This outburst of poetry, contemporary with the Crusades and deriving much from them, dates from about 1090 and continued for two centuries. The names of over four hundred troubadours have survived—in itself a warrant for their popularity.

They included kings, counts, knights, merchants, and even monks. Folquet de Marseilles, originally a rich Genoese merchant, was also a troubadour, and ended his career as a persecutor of the Albigensians and as Bishop of Toulouse. Guy Folqueys of Nîmes became Pope Clement IV. It was an enthusiasm which kindled all ranks of society. But some were professional troubadours who attached themselves to a particular Court, as Court poets, supported by a patron : others roamed from one lord to another, getting what they could. They sang their songs accompanying themselves on a viol, on a sort of guitar, or on a rote (which was a diminutive harp) ; the air probably resembled plain-song. Records remain of their benefactors, as Raymond V and VI of Toulouse, the lords of Marseilles, of Narbonne, and Montpellier, Alphonse II and Raymond Bérenger IV, both Counts of Provence, the Counts of Rodez, Raymond Roger, Count of Foix, and Guilhem des Baux.

One would like to know more of life then, to see the poets and their audiences. On every occasion of festival the troubadours would delight the guests. At the Courts of Love, too, they sang their latest verses and sought to outdo one another. These Courts of Love were poetical fêtes, and Courts in the sense that a queen, the Queen of Love, holds a Court. Probably they took place in the open air ; the climate lends itself better than any other to continuous outdoor life. There may have been the garden of the castle for their background, or some enclosure of

cypresses. Between the cypresses they saw the cloudless sky ; at their feet grew aromatic herbs among the grass. Perhaps they debated abstract questions—how the lover should bear himself under certain circumstances, what the lady should decide. For there were delicate rules to love. It is not certain, however, that this conception is accurate, for confusion may have arisen with the poetical form, the *tençon*, which does take the form of a debate and decision. It was a *tençon* which told the story of the lady who was so unfortunate as to be faced at the same moment with her three lovers. She gave her hand to one, smiled at the next, and touched the third with her foot : which did she really love ? Symbolical marriages were possibly celebrated at the Courts of Love. When the lover laid his hands in those of his lady, she gave him a kiss and a ring. According to one authority, this union was sometimes blessed by a priest, and the marriage was actually practised and approved.

The company of the troubadours is so pleasant that one is tempted to linger in it a little. Bernard de Ventadour was by origin the son of the castle baker ; he fell in love with the lady of the castle, and was obliged to leave it. He was one of the most famous of the troubadours, and several of his poems remain. Bertrand de Born was one of those who found other topics—war and politics—besides love. He was closely involved in both. As a lord of Aquitaine he was a liege of Henry II of England, but followed his son Henry in opposition and suffered imprisonment. On Henry's

death, he joined Henry's brother, Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

Folquet de Marseilles had an extraordinary life. His family were merchants at Genoa. He himself was a friend of Raymond V of Toulouse and of Barral des Baux. Stricken with grief at the death of Adelasie des Baux, he became a monk, and ultimately Bishop of Toulouse ; this is not so surprising as that he should have become a fervent persecutor of the Albigensians. Then there was Rudel, who fell in love with the Countess of Tripoli from hearsay, for he had never seen her. In order to see her he took the cross ; during the voyage he was taken ill, and on arrival at Tripoli he was carried ashore as one dead. The Countess, being told his story, came to visit him. Unconscious as he was, she restored him for the moment sufficiently for him to thank and praise God that he had seen her. Then he died in her arms.

The weakness in the poetry of the troubadours was that it conveyed so high an ideal that it tended to become unreal and artificial. This was one of the causes which led to its decline. But still more it was the expression harmonising with certain conditions of life : when they altered, it, too, must change, or die. The Albigensian Crusades set new forces to work in southern France. Suddenly the tolerant, cultivated southerners found their liberty and possessions endangered. The pleasant strains of the troubadours went unrewarded in the anxieties of the times. And, as France extended her grasp over the

territories of Toulouse, the French language and literature spread over the south.

The great lyrical outburst was at an end, but its influence endured into the sixteenth century. It remains a permanent contribution to the traditions of civilisation. The literature is no longer read, but its thought is still alive, and has yet perhaps suggestiveness for the present day and for centuries to come. The troubadours originated an idea foreign to the classical standpoint. It was destined to influence all civilised Europe.

X

THE RELIGIOUS WARS

Southern tolerance—Valdo—Albigensians derive from Cathars?—
Widespread heresy—Dominic attempts persuasion—Raymond of
Toulouse involved—Simon de Montfort—Languedoc ceded to
France—Siege of Avignon—Inquisition—Effects on French law.

It is said that the Crusades were largely instrumental in introducing heresy in Provence and Languedoc. But the south had early shown tendencies to Arianism and Manicheism. The south had taken the impress of Rome too profoundly to be intolerant of religious novelty. And since then it had experienced the Moorish occupation. Tolerance was a fundamental quality in the south, becoming, indeed, sometimes religious indifference.

The Vaudois and the Albigensians are first heard of about the latter half of the twelfth century. Were they merely opponents of the priesthood? Were they precursors of the Reformation? It is hard to say. Practically nothing survives of their own writings, and we can only gather their tenets from the accounts of their enemies. Certain points in their teaching—opposition to oaths, condonation of suicide—would be anti-social even nowadays. And at that time Government had other reasonable grounds for proceeding against them.

The Vaudois were numerous all about the valley of the Rhône ; the Albigensians were found in Languedoc, Gascony, and the Pyrenees : their doctrines had a great deal in common. Pierre Valdo was a rich merchant of Lyons. He had the Gospels translated into French, together with other books of the Bible, and some of the early Fathers. He himself gave up all his possessions to become a poor preacher. This must have been about thirty years before St. Francis of Assisi renounced everything. But whereas St. Francis taught the love of Christ, Valdo and his followers preached the doctrine of Christ, as they conceived it. Opposition was bound to follow on their preaching. Yet, like other reformers, Valdo had no idea of separating from the Church. He only wished to emphasise certain truths. But when disciples joined him, the clergy raised opposition and the archbishop forbade his preaching. Still, he was able to gain conditional permission from the Pope—which was promptly withdrawn by the next Pope. He wandered through Burgundy, Provence, and the Narbonnaise, and his doctrines spread. He seems to have taught disbelief in the Real Presence and in Purgatory, and to have opposed ordination, the worship of saints, and fasting. His morality was unquestionable, and he desired simple spiritual worship : the stricter of his followers aimed at a high ideal. As time goes on, little is heard of the Vaudois or Waldenses. A remnant retreated to the Alps, and the teaching lingered there, to reappear in the Reformation. Others were confused with the Albigenses, who

were much more widespread. The Vaudois were "they who kept Thy truth so pure of old" in Milton's sonnet. Even to-day a small sect survives in the mountains.

The Albigenians took their name from the place Albi, which was their especial centre. Near here was held their great Council of 1167, at which the Bishop Nicetas of Constantinople was present. But their beliefs were prevalent as early as 1020, and obtained wide diffusion. They, too, denied the Real Presence, and opposed any priesthood and the worship of saints. They also opposed baptism and oaths. They derived much of their teaching from the Cathars, and these latter certainly taught the Manichean doctrine of two ultimate principles of good and evil (the evil was usually held to be subordinate to the good), and the Pelagian belief in the ultimate salvation of all men (opposed by St. Augustine with the theory of predestination, which the south utterly refused to accept). They imposed very strict moral obligations on their followers, who were divided into the Perfect and the Believers. The Perfect were denied sexual relations, and could eat no meat. They were the object of intercession by the Believers, or lower order, who sought their intervention with the deity. Believing themselves to be incarnations of the fallen angels, they sought to regain their celestial bodies: lest they should be doomed to a fresh life in the flesh after death, they must be baptised not by water, but spiritually, by the imposition of hands. So exalted were their principles that even their enemies admired



MONTMAJOUR : CLOISTERS.

their lives, which seemed a reversion to the Christianity of the Primitive Church. It was probably due to Catharism that the Church found itself obliged to enforce the rule of celibacy for the clergy. They condemned the Jewish Jehovah ideal, and probably led the Church to prohibit the Old Testament to laymen. Their teaching had other permanent results. But they condoned voluntary starvation or bleeding to death. Others of their practices were incompatible with good order.

Ten years after the Council of Albi, Raymond V of Toulouse stated that the heresy was diffused among all classes, including priests, that it was propagated by a few men of high standing, supported by the indifference of a great body of tepid Catholics. Since he held the march of Provence, it is clear that the heresy was current there, and it was prevalent at Arles and Marseilles. Missions of conversion were attempted: at the Albigenian synods speakers endeavoured to convince their audience. Little more was attained than the excommunication of some of the leaders. Many of the great barons were themselves sympathisers; either they joined the Albigenians, or permitted their families to do so. Raymond Roger de Foix had a wife and sister who were Vaudois, and another sister Albigenian. He himself attacked and spoiled a monastery, damaging the church and disregarding the relics. Raymond Roger of Carcassonne resembled him. Raymond V of Toulouse was succeeded by Raymond VI, a cultivated, intelligent man,

adhering to the Church, but quite in sympathy with the Albigenians.

To St. Dominic belongs the credit of endeavouring to contend with them peacefully. He resolved to become a poor preacher himself, and to reason with their errors. For three years he travelled about Languedoc, to Béziers, Carcassonne, and all the neighbourhood, trying to obtain converts. It is in this light that one should conceive of St. Dominic, and not as an Inquisitor, since the Inquisition did not come into being till after his death. He was a preacher and seeker of souls; he showed that southern tolerance which enabled believers, heretics, and Jews to intermingle, and which permitted Catholics to reason with heretics instead of using force against them. Nor did the heretics refuse to listen; but they were not convinced.

It was the hasty action of Pierre de Castelnau, papal legate, that kindled animosity and led to bloodshed. He denounced and excommunicated Raymond of Toulouse, and as a result was assassinated. This was a thrust against papal authority. Pierre de Castelnau was buried in state at St. Gilles. The Pope assumed the culpability of Raymond, and also passed sentence of excommunication. Still Raymond submitted himself: in addition to surrendering certain castles to the Pope, and to undertaking to fight against the heresy, he presented himself for penance at the abbey of St. Gilles. He appeared at the church door stripped to the waist, with a stole round his neck: the new legate drew him

into the church by the stole and struck him with rods.

He had engaged to wage war on the heresy, and the Albigensian Crusade was now launched. It was English as well as French in composition, and the adventurer Simon de Montfort found in it the opportunity to make his fortune. In 1209 a force of fifty thousand men followed the papal legate to Béziers, where a fresh force met them under the leadership of the Bishop of Le Puy. The Viscount of Béziers, Roger Trencavel, had imprisoned the Bishop of Albi, and suffered excommunication in consequence. His town was now besieged and captured. A horrible slaughter followed, for not only were all the fighting men massacred. About seven thousand women, children and old men had taken refuge in the church of the Madeleine : every one of these was killed. The town was pillaged, and the quarrels of the soldiery and their leaders led to the firing of the town. Equally horrible is the story of the capture of the castle of Lavaur. Seigneur Almaric de Montréal and eighty knights were to be hanged, but the gallows gave way, and Simon de Montfort had them put to the sword. Giraude, the lady of Lavaur, *vieille dame tres charitable*, was thrown down a well and stoned. Every cruelty appeared against the heresy : sixty heretics were burnt near Castelnaudary. Only religious conviction can account for what it does not justify. But the Crusaders believed themselves encouraged by miraculous supplies of food and water, by luminous apparitions of the cross.

Gradually the Crusade devolved into a contest between Simon de Montfort and Raymond of Toulouse. The former, seizing his chance, had become Viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, and chief leader. Raymond of Toulouse continued inactive, and Simon gained Limoux, Montréal, Castres, Albi, and other strong places. He defeated the Count of Foix, and left to Raymond little but his city of Toulouse and the town of Montauban. But such persistent enmity brought Raymond an ally, Pedro II of Aragon. The politics of Languedoc could not be indifferent to Aragon, and there were close relations between the two sides of the Pyrenees, both in politics and family ties. Pedro II joined the Albigensians, but only to be killed at the battle of Muret, and Simon thereupon added Toulouse and Narbonne to his conquests. The cause of Raymond's inactivity seems to have been his unwillingness to break with the Church. Simon on the other hand, was ready at every point. As he conquered, he established order. By the Statuts de Pamiers he gave an organisation to Languedoc.

Meanwhile, Philip Augustus of France was watching developments. When the Pope had excommunicated Raymond of Toulouse, he had pointed out that, if Raymond VI was definitely convicted of heresy, it would be for himself to take action and confiscate the domains of his vassal. The Pope himself was irresolute—or merciful; unwilling to condemn Raymond to complete loss of territory, at one moment checking Simon de Montfort, then urging him on.

Finally he reserved to Raymond, Beaucaire, Nîmes, Provence, and the Rhône valley. Nevertheless, Simon de Montfort attacked Raymond even there. But a sudden revolt at Toulouse recalled him. He was obliged to besiege the town afresh, and met his death by a great missile hurled from an engine directed by the women of the town.

His son, Amaury, took the field, and with him Louis of France. Philip Augustus was now secure from the dangers of the coalition which England had formed against him, and by the battle of Bouvines he had consolidated his position in northern and central France. He was ready to take what share he could get in the south. Nothing was added to France actually at the moment ; but when fortresses began to fall to Raymond, when Amaury realised how unequal he was to his father's task, it was natural that he should resign his pretensions into the hands of Louis. On the death of Philip Augustus, Louis VIII undertook a fresh Crusade, in 1226, urged, as before, by Pope and Church. He marched from Bourges intending to cross the Rhône at Avignon, where was one of the very few stone bridges over the river. Avignon was at that time under the rule of a podesta. At first, consent was given to his passing through the town. But there were in it a great many heretics, partisans of the Count of Toulouse ; they took alarm. In order to cross safely, Louis was obliged to besiege Avignon, and for some time he was entirely unsuccessful, as the town was well fortified and

well supplied, and the townsmen made sallies upon his troops. In the end he blockaded it, drawing a deep trench all round. At the end of three months, the town surrendered to avoid the fate of Béziers (which had recently been sacked a second time). Hard conditions were imposed. All the fortifications were destroyed, and could not be rebuilt for five years. A castle was built at the expense of the city on the opposite shore in French territory, where it was a watch-tower. This is the tower of Philip le Bel, which is still standing at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. Other exactions were made ; this firmness had results. In all the district the towns and feudal lords made instant submission. Only at Limoux was a show of resistance made, and the rest of the Crusade was merely a march past. All that Louis VIII had to do was to complete the organisation begun by Simon de Montfort. Thus Languedoc, including several towns of the Rhône district—Beaucaire, Nîmes, and others—was added to the kingdom of France.

This did not end the heresy. The establishment of the Inquisition almost stamped it out, and brought about strong ill-feeling at Albi. The Bishop of Albi, Bernard de Castanet, is said to have built the cathedral and his residence with money confiscated from heretics by the Inquisition. But the heresy reappeared in the *spirituels*, and by 1318 all the district was re-infected. In that year four people were burnt at Marseilles, in 1322 a man was burnt at Toulouse, in 1325 a woman at Carcassonne. Altogether several

hundreds perished, men and women and priests : for the rest of the century the old opinions re-appeared from time to time. But there was no longer a strong movement ; the Inquisition had done its work.

Languedoc had now become French. This was the leading result of the Crusade against heresy. In addition, Raymond had been obliged to leave the march of Provence to a Frenchman. In 1271 it passed to the King of France. Though it was ceded to the Popes—thus preparing the way for the papal sojourn at Avignon—this did not alienate it from France as Imperial suzerainty had done. France had gained a great extension of power.

There were other results. The Inquisition had its own methods of procedure. Inquisitors were generally appointed for the sole end of dealing with heresy, and were not hampered by precedent. Bishops were unwilling to proceed, and papal legates too busy. So that when the bishop gave his consent, the Pope appointed Inquisitors (usually Dominicans). Intent, therefore, on this sole aim, the Inquisitor, whose authority was unquestioned, disregarded the rights of the individual, and proceeded in a horrible secrecy to execute arbitrary judgments. This state of things left its mark on French law, which was then halting between trial by jury and secret official justice. It is to this period of the activity of the Inquisition that France of the old régime owed sudden arrest, secret trial, torture, confiscation, and other bad elements in its procedure.

XI

THE POPES AT AVIGNON

**France and Papacy—Advantages of Avignon—John XXII's riches—
Clement VI's Court—Avignon preferred to Rome—Great schism—
Siege of papal palace—Schism ended.**

THE increasing power of France was manifest in its relations with the Papacy in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Philip le Bel not only quarrelled with Pope Boniface VIII and defied his authority ; he accused him of simony and of deposing his predecessor. In the quarrel Philip gained a marked advantage : he was not likely to recede. A disputed election, following a long vacancy in the pontificate, gave him opportunities for intrigue. It was the French Pope, elected probably under Philip's influence, who first resided at Avignon.

This Pope was Clement V. He lost no time in showing his French sympathies. He was enthroned at Lyons. An ominous disaster befell the procession ; the fall of part of the city walls killed his brother and several other notables, and wounded the King's brother ; his own horse was killed and his tiara damaged. He immediately appointed ten new cardinals, of whom nine were French. When Philip urged the prosecution of the Order of the Templars, Clement eventually suppressed the order at the Council of Vienne. It

was not unnatural that he should come to Avignon. Close by was the Venaissin, the district which France had ceded to the Popes in 1273 ; here he had several country houses. Often the Popes had left Rome when the Romans were more than usually turbulent. There had been long residences at Perugia, which was papal territory. During the contest between Frederick II and the Papacy, Innocent IV retired to Lyons for some time ; though nominally Imperial, it was safe from Imperial influence. There was nothing surprising, then, in the change of residence. Avignon was quiet, too, and its simplicity was restful after the state of the Vatican. Although under the Empire, it was an independent city ; it formed part of the Provence fief of the House of Anjou and Naples, which was especially devoted to the Pope. It was conveniently on the high road to Italy. Above all, it was in closest touch with France, without being absolutely in French power. In March 1309, Clement settled at the Dominican convent there, but without any idea of permanently removing the papal residence from Rome.

It was his successor, John XXII, who wished to make a new Rome of Avignon. French, like Clement, he had at one time been Bishop of Avignon. He felt a natural affection for the city, and wished to establish a permanent residence. He took the bishop's palace for it, and set to work to enlarge it. He embellished the papal mansions of the Venaissin. Architecture and painting were his great interests ; he did much for the churches of Avignon. The town was evidently growing

already. Residents were being ejected from their houses to make room for cardinals, or the cardinals were building themselves sumptuous palaces here and at Villeneuve. Plurality of tenure gave them immense resources ; the Pope himself at his death left a treasure of eighteen million gold florins and a very great number of gold and silver vessels, crosses, mitres, jewels. This was the Pope who said that the doctrine of Apostolic poverty was heretical. But during the eighteen years of his pontificate there was intellectual refinement at Avignon as well as wealth. Petrarch's residence there began during his rule. Petrarch's father had settled there. Petrarch himself returned from a visit to Italy and found himself almost penniless. But he was not friendless ; he became tutor to the nephew of a cardinal, and established a reputation as a humanist in an intellectual circle at Avignon.

In 1342 Clement VI became Pope. On his accession, Rienzi, the demagogue, had come from Rome to try and persuade him to return ; failing in this, he himself established a form of government at Rome, seeking to restore the Roman republic. But his excesses gained him the hostility of the Church as well as the nobility, and he returned to Avignon to suffer two years' imprisonment in the Papal Palace. He was not the first State prisoner there. Nicholas V, the anti-Pope set up by the Emperor in opposition to John XXII, ended his life in imprisonment at Avignon.

Clement VI was the Pope who did so much for



AVIGNON: PALACE OF THE POPES

Joanna I of Naples. After the murder of her husband, she was accused of complicity in the crime. She therefore came to state her case before the Pope. Clement and his cardinals completely exculpated her, and he took the opportunity to purchase Avignon from her and make it part of the papal Venaissin. She was glad of money to defend Naples against her husband's Hungarian relatives. A little later, Clement was able to arrange peace between her and them.

It was Clement who said, "My predecessors never knew how to be a Pope." But, then, his predecessors were not men of good family like himself. To him it was natural to enjoy the society of men and women of the highest rank, to make his splendid Court a brilliant social circle. Men and women of rank came to enjoy the pleasures of Avignon, and his Court was open, not only to them, but to scholars. But his expenses and generosity made him perpetually short of money, and he left to his mistress, the Countess of Turenne, such matters of Church administration as the disposal of benefices and preferment. For money he was in great difficulties, because absentee government of the papal States in Italy diminished his revenues. And France was poverty-stricken. The year 1347 was the year of the great plague which killed half the population. It had reached France from the Mediterranean and the ports of Provence; Avignon suffered severely. In the south there were wild outbursts against the Jews, who were

accused of poisoning the wells. Some were burnt at Narbonne and Carcassonne, and Clement took them under his protection. Probably many of them were added to the population of Avignon. He did not leave the city during the plague.

The plague was followed by disorder ; bodies of freebooters harried the country. During the rule of the succeeding Pope, one of these bands reached the gates of Avignon and defeated the papal troops, so that the Pope only saved himself and the city by paying a large ransom. After that the fortifications were enlarged and strengthened. There was no talk of return to Rome, and French influence continued supreme.

At last, when Urban V became Pope in 1362, he definitely planned to return to Rome. It was necessary to regain hold of the papal States in Italy, to whom the Pope's agents appeared as foreigners. Rome was in ruins ; it must be restored, and there, free from outside influences, the Pope could proceed in necessary schemes of reform. Urban was a man of sincerity who disapproved of the pomp of his own Court. But his cardinals disagreed with him. They enjoyed the luxury of Avignon, and thought of Rome as barbarous. The King of France, too, did all he could to dissuade Urban. But on April 30th, 1367, the Pope, with fifteen cardinals, embarked at Marseilles, and on October 16th, amid general joy, he entered Rome. He stayed long enough to receive the visits of the Emperor and of John Palæologus, Emperor of the East. Then disorders broke out in Rome. The French king, on

the alert to get him back, sent a squadron of ten ships to fetch him. Within three years he was back at Avignon, where he died three months later.

His successor, Gregory XI, though much under French influence, saw the necessity of returning to Rome. But still he did not move. At last came St. Catherine of Siena to visit him at Avignon, and bid him return. She roused him ; he did reach Rome, but only to die there.

The subsequent election led to the great schism. It took place at Rome. The cardinals were not properly enclosed, so that they could hear the crowd outside. The one cry was for a Roman Pope, and at every moment the populace became more impatient. Under this intimidation Urban VI was elected, but the French cardinals refused to abide by this election, and, together with a few others, they formed a fresh conclave and elected Clement VII. Thus there were two Popes, and the position continued because their adherents were evenly divided. The Empire supported Urban, but France Clement. England could not follow France, so she adhered to Urban, and so did some of the northern countries, but Savoy and Portugal followed France. Joanna of Naples supported Clement, but the city favoured Urban. Clement had to leave Naples ; naturally, then, he sailed for Avignon.

But Clement maintained a hold of some of the papal States, and at the end of 1390 he had great hopes of returning to Rome. Charles VI of France was planning an expedition into Italy,

and Clement made his preparations, bought saddles and panniers, portable altars, and fur lining for his clothes. But at the critical moment Charles was distracted by hopes of an English peace, and Clement sank into the lethargic luxury of his predecessors. His extravagance was unlimited. At one time various sacred objects, as well as his tiara, were pledged to the Jews. He had his menagerie and his players. He collected jewels, cameos, works of art. And money was needed to purchase his cardinals' faithfulness.

Such a life could not fail to awaken public opinion. Benedict XIII was elected with the avowed intention of yielding his position, if necessary, to unity. But it was not his intention. On the contrary, he prepared to settle down in Avignon, and enlarged the fortification of the Papal Palace. Here he was besieged by the French, who had gained access to the town by the goodwill of the citizens. The siege dragged on for more than seven months. At last Benedict escaped in disguise to Château Renard, in the fief of Provence (under the dominion of Anjou and Naples). The siege was raised, and Benedict was able to revenge himself on the citizens of Avignon by forcing them to rebuild his palace, and by garrisoning it with foreign mercenaries ; he himself refused to reside there.

At Rome there were changes. Gregory XII was elected, with the same hopes as Benedict. Yet the Popes did not meet to concert steps. They got within a day's journey of one another.

But Benedict avoided a meeting. At last both France and Italy wearied of this shuffling. Both withdrew obedience, and a council was assembled to elect a Pope unanimously. But the result was a triple Papacy, for neither of the others gave way. Nevertheless, this plan was ultimately successful. A further council was held in 1414—the Council of Constance. This council deposed the newly elected Pope and also Pope Benedict. Gregory abdicated, and Martin V was elected sole Pope. At last the schism was ended.

From 1309–1414 Avignon had been a papal residence, an important centre of European life. For thirty-six years the Great Schism had divided Christendom and brought religion to judgment. It is not surprising that the Council of Constance had even more important work to do than the deposition or election of a Pope. It was challenged by heresy, and it had the whole Church to reform.

XII

THE LEGEND OF THE SAINTS AND THE MIRACULOUS BOAT

The Story—Origin of dedications—Marseilles claims Lazarus—Device of Vézelay monks—Other attempts—Mary Magdalene and St. Maximin—Tarascon and Les Saintes Maries—Local patriotism—Passion for relics.

THERE is an ancient tradition associating St. Mary Magdalene with Provence. This is one of the first things the traveller learns. Near Aubagne, not far from Marseilles, is the grotto of the Sainte Baume, where she is supposed to have lived in retirement: it is now a place of pilgrimage. Further, at Les Baux, the carvings on the east side of the hill represent the two Marys and Lazarus, or so the visitor is told. Next the traveller is introduced to Martha at Tarascon. A visit to Les Saintes Maries, another place of pilgrimage, fixes the story satisfactorily. Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Mary Salome, reached Provence in an open boat, accompanied by Martha, Lazarus, and their servant Sarah. Arles adds another saint to the miraculous boat, St. Trophimus; and St. Maximin also gained its patron saint from thence. They landed where the church of the Saintes Maries now stands. The two lesser Marys and Sarah were buried there, and Mary Magdalene at St. Maximin.

Is not this a delightful legend ? It is so lavish. It adds glamour to several localities. Moreover, it did not borrow just one saint or two. Every time one hears of the boatload, a fresh character has been added to it. The boat itself travelled miraculously from the Holy Land to Provence, without oar, sail, or rudder, and they landed without difficulty.

A delightful story in itself, it improves with investigation. If one studies its origin, one does not regret losing the legend. The very human characteristics which it betrays atone for the disappearance of the saints. The summary which follows is based on Manteyer's account.

In the first place, one must account for the dedications. St. Mary was probably the most popular saint in Provence, whether Mary Magdalene or Mary of Bethany, who (as is well known) were confused into one person by the Middle Ages. A composite St. Mary, then, probably replaced Artemis, whose cult had been transmitted by the Greeks to the Romans. For usually, when Christianity was preached, the old deities were replaced by saints with rather similar characteristics. Since so much of Provence had been Greek, St. Mary would figure very frequently in church dedications. And she would replace Isis, and also Magna Mater. The dedication to St. Martha at Tarascon is unusual in Provence. But it is frequent in Auvergne, with which part of Provence was governed for a short time in the sixth century. Then there was an actual Lazarus in the fifth century, a bishop of Aix, who

journeyed to Palestine. On his return he died and was buried at Marseilles. These are the foundations of the legend.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are notorious for the increasing devotion paid to relics. No more interesting festival could occur than a translation or exposition of relics. Religion tended to degenerate into relic worship. Every church had to have its object of devotion, and priests and monks were not scrupulous in obtaining relics. It was not only a point of honour, but also a means of commercial profit. The offerings of pilgrims were a source of wealth. Moreover, they brought trade; markets came to pilgrim resorts. The news of the capture of Constantinople was received with joy because fresh relics would be available to bring to France.

The tomb of Lazarus of Aix, discovered in the eleventh century, was therefore a very valuable find. Whether by mistake or not, the monks of the abbey of St. Victor, near Marseilles, readily brought themselves to believe that it was Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary. When their church was re-dedicated, in 1040, they asserted their claim to possess the body of St. Lazarus of the New Testament, stating that he was the first bishop of Marseilles.

Ten years later, Vézelay Abbey was being restored, and the monks contrived to persuade themselves that they had the bones of Mary Magdalene. There was a difficulty about both these stories. Tradition had always held that the remains of St. Mary Magdalene and of Lazarus

were transferred to Constantinople in 899. People are not always well informed, however; the monks of Vézelay took the risk. Mary Magdalene had died, they said, at St. Maximin in Provence. But they added that her body had been translated to Vézelay as early as 879. Thus they very ingeniously antedated the older tradition.

Vézelay is near Autun, where the church was dedicated to St. Nazaire. Clearly the canons of Autun were not going to be outdone by their neighbours. Might they not assume Nazaire to be a confusion with Lazaire or Lazarus? So in 1147 the body of Lazarus was "discovered"; the story went that it had been brought from Marseilles.

Forty years later another Mary Magdalene was claimed, for Avallon, not far from Autun. In this case the date of the translation was set back yet a little earlier than at Vézelay.

Imagine how Provence felt. She possessed one Lazarus, but he had a rival. And though it was pleasant to think that she had harboured St. Mary Magdalene, why had she allowed Vézelay and Avallon to steal a march on her as regards the body of the saint? At last she could bear it no longer. The Vézelay saint had been translated to a fresh tomb with great state in 1267; there had been elaborate ceremonies in which the papal legate took part. In 1279 Mary Magdalene was discovered at St. Maximin—but one leg was missing. Of course, Vézelay retorted that theirs was complete: it also had a woman's hair. Vézelay was a Cluniac foundation, and therefore

had to be treated with consideration. Consequently, from the first discovery in the eleventh century to the new entombment in 1267, the Papacy knew the Vézelay saint, and acknowledged her authenticity. But when Provence produced a claim, the Pope was obliged to authorise the Provençal saint because Provence was Angevin, and the House of Anjou was friendly to the Papacy. The Provençal theory was that St. Mary Magdalene had been originally buried in an elaborate tomb at St. Maximin. In consequence of Saracen raids, it had been transferred to a plain tomb in the same crypt : in this way it had been temporarily lost—or mislaid.

Mary Magdalene's presence being established, where had she landed ? Why, at Notre Dame-des-Raus (of the "rafts"—little islets with which the surrounding fens were dotted), quite naturally. Such is the earlier dedication of the church known since the early thirteenth century as Les Saintes Maries. But if Mary Magdalene and Lazarus landed, what about Martha ? for she must have been with them. No one else had claimed her : Tarascon had a church of St. Martha. In 1187 her relics were found at Tarascon, and the church was rebuilt in her honour. An inhabitant of Tarascon set to work to write her life ; he hit on an ingenious plan for gaining general support for the claims of Provence. According to his story, the boat contained not only Mary Magdalene, Martha, and the other Marys, Lazarus, and Maximin. He added to these fourteen others, described as the first bishops of Arles, Narbonne,

Toulouse, Limoges, Saintes, Le Mans, Bourges, Lyons, Besançon, Orange, Tours, Périgueux, Le Puy, and Paris. In this way he linked all these bishoprics with the apostles, and thought he might be sure of the support of all France. In reality the names specified are those of bishops dating from any time between the second and seventh centuries. It will be observed that no bishop appears for Avignon—St. Martha herself preached at Avignon, and she built the church there with the co-operation of the Virgin, who was still alive. A bishop being wanted, the hand of God stretched out and consecrated Martha. On her death, Christ came himself to bury her.

So much for the stories. The great difficulty lies in these various translations of the bodies. According to original tradition, translation to Ephesus occurred in 899. This tradition was well known in the tenth century. But these others were not heard of till the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And they conflict strangely with the undoubted fact that Arles cathedral and see took precedence of the others. Arles ranked first on the assumption that St. Trophimus, its first bishop, was a disciple of St. Peter. Probably these others are merely an attempt at challenging the supremacy of Arles. Marseilles, growing in importance, developed the story of St. Lazarus to favour its pretensions. Aix would not be left out, and encouraged the view that Mary Magdalene was buried in its diocese at St. Maximin. This explanation does not seem inadequate when one recollects how easily claims were forged. In

the eighth and ninth centuries, there was keen rivalry between the cities of Vienne and Arles. The first was the royal residence, the second the place of coronation. Vienne forged documents to prove the antiquity of her church and its seniority to Arles. Subsequently a papal confirmation of these claims was forged ; and then the forger, becoming Pope, ratified his own forgeries.

As an example of the passion for relics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the story of Galon de Sarton may be cited. He was a clerk in Constantinople. He discovered a box in the wall of the church he served, and on investigation decided that it contained relics of the saints. He kept the discovery to himself, gradually removed the relics and consigned them to little bags, and then sold the reliquary to obtain money. With this he was able to start his journey, and at the end of a month he had safely reached Venice. He then went on foot across Lombardy and the Alps. Not only was he in danger of robbery from brigands, but, if his secret were discovered, from churchmen too. If he should be searched it would be fatal. Twice as he crossed France he was stopped by thieves. At last he reached his home-town safely, and gave it his most precious treasure. A triumphal procession greeted the gift to Amiens cathedral of the face of St. John the Baptist.

To return to Provence, at this very day Arles cathedral boasts the possession of the relics of forty-seven saints, pieces of the True Cross, and the skull of a Holy Innocent.

XIII

JOANNA OF NAPLES

Troubled inheritance—Early difficulties—Murder of Andrew—Rebellion of Charles of Durazzo—War with Hungary—Good administration—Hostility of her heir—And of Pope—Imprisonment and death—Qualities.

ONE cannot be long in Provence without hearing of Queen Jeanne. Her character and beauty made an indelible impression on the popular mind. Traditions cluster round her as in England round Queen Elizabeth. Her story in its outward circumstances resembles that of Mary Queen of Scots, and arouses a like interest. But this is a merely superficial similarity; their characters were entirely different. That Queen Jeanne should still be held in such affectionate remembrance is proof of the force of her personality. She actually resided very little in Provence. Her life was one magnificent struggle against ill-fortune.

The House of Anjou had been invited by the Papacy to accept the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and Charles I established himself at Naples by the victory of Tagliacozzo in 1268. Sicily he only ruled for a dozen years; a standing feud between French and Sicilians culminated in the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, after which Sicily came into Spanish hands. Spain also had a claim on Naples, on account of intermarriage with the

Hohenstauffen family. And, as it had been an Imperial fief until the Pope persuaded Charles to wrest it from Frederick II, neither Charles nor any of his successors could hope for Imperial support. It was, therefore, from the first a disputed possession. The only ally to Charles I, Charles II, and Robert I was the Pope. Even this alliance failed when the Popes retired to Avignon.

The troubled state of Italy had a large share in bringing about this absence. The effect of it was to increase the disorder. Frequent civil wars disturbed the different States, and introduced bands of mercenaries who augmented the evil. All these difficulties reacted on the government of Naples, at that time the leading State of Italy. But the greatest hindrance to any ruler was treachery. There could be no dependence on the leading Neapolitan families. Again and again both Joanna and, later, René were to experience their fickleness.

Joanna's reign began when she was only sixteen. She succeeded her grandfather, Robert (known as the Wise, or Learned). The death of her father, who had already displayed talents for administration, was a great misfortune, increased by the death of her mother. It is rather surprising, too, that whereas other Angevin princes and princesses were carefully educated under religious direction, no special provision seems to have been made for Joanna. And the principal lady about her was her grandmother's favourite, Philippa of Gaëta, who had risen from the people.

Directly after her father's death, when she was only five years old, her grandfather had betrothed her to Prince Andrew of Hungary, then seven. His intention had been to unite with her certain Hungarian claims on the throne. Foreseeing that she must succeed young, he endeavoured to provide against hostile claims. But he placed a fresh stumbling-block in her path.

For Andrew proved dull, inert, the very antithesis of all Joanna's brilliant qualities. His Hungarian retainers formed a Court within the Court, disliked by the Neapolitans. And offence was given to the princes of Taranto and Durazzo, princes of the blood, either of whom might have hoped for the alliance.

On her accession in 1343, Joanna was under the control of a council of regency. Robert had appointed it, but Andrew's Hungarian tutor somehow assumed chief power. He did incalculable harm, of which evidence is given by the account of Petrarch, who visited Naples both in Robert's reign and at this time. It is very possible that Joanna, whose powers matured early, would have reigned better single-handed; that she saw that the government was bad. At least she obtained of the Pope, who had rights in the regency, the appointment to the council of the Bishop of Cavaillon, who was generally respected.

During this period Joanna's sister, Marie, was carried off by their cousin, Charles of Durazzo. His marriage with her gave him pretensions to

the throne, and might possibly endanger Joanna, but the sisters continued to be on friendly terms.

Joanna's own marriage with Andrew had now been consummated, and all preparations were made for their dual coronation (she as queen, he as consort) in 1345. Two days before the day appointed, Andrew was murdered. Who was responsible? He was summoned at night to receive a messenger from Hungary. On leaving his room he was surrounded and hanged from a balcony.

Joanna was accused of being an accomplice. It was said that the murderer was Louis of Taranto, another prince of the blood, whom she subsequently married. According to a different theory, Andrew was showing special partiality to a certain group of noblemen, whose enemies felt themselves thereby endangered; in self-defence they murdered Andrew. There is credibility in this view. The nature of the murder, the fact that no provision had been made for disposing of the body, seemed to make it the sudden resolution of violent men. On the other hand, could a girl, even now only eighteen, have been confederate in such a plot? For in spite of the difference of their abilities, they had lived happily together; as she herself wrote to the King of Hungary, "Andrew, as long as he lived, always associated with me without strife." Nor did her contemporaries believe her guilty once the question had been resolved in the papal Court. Even her violent enemy, Urban VI, determined as he was

to blacken her character, never brought this accusation against her.

Her baby was born shortly after this event, and as soon as she recovered she took the government into her own hands. She empowered Hugues des Baux to seek out the murderers and do justice on them. Among those he accused was the waiting woman who had been placed with her by her grandmother, Philippa of Gaëta. As an associate of the discontented nobles Philippa was tortured and executed. No doubt this was a fresh shock to Joanna.

No sooner did she stand alone than Charles of Durazzo, her sister's husband, seized his chance and broke into rebellion. Hungary was likely to be another enemy. Her council therefore urged her to take another husband, and proposed Louis of Taranto. It is said that he was profoundly in love with her. The marriage was a happy one, and he served her well.

Andrew's brother, the King of Hungary, now marched upon Naples, and his money obtained him support among the Neapolitans. Joanna had no sufficient force to meet him. And she wished to lay her case before the Pope. She resolved to retire to Provence. Her plans were successful. She gained fresh help and money from the Provençal nobles. She sold the city of Avignon to the Pope to obtain funds. Her state entry with Louis to lay her case before Pope Clement VI was a magnificent spectacle. She herself pleaded her own cause with overpowering

eloquence, and was completely exculpated by the Pope and his assembled cardinals.

Her absence from Naples did her a service. The Hungarians had made themselves disliked by all. Still more, they had rid her of a dangerous rival. The first act of the King of Hungary was to accuse Charles of Durazzo of murdering Andrew. Without waiting for any defence, he caused Charles to be stabbed. The other princes he imprisoned. But, in spite of popular sympathy, Louis of Taranto had to fight a difficult campaign for Joanna. His best policy was to avoid a battle, but his adherents were eager to fight. There was treachery, too; the High Admiral, Rinaldo des Baux, of the Provençal family, would not obey the Queen's orders, and Louis stabbed him. Eventually peace was arranged by the Pope. Both sides were exhausted, and Hungary could not maintain a government at such a distance. This was one of the last acts of Clement VI; he died very shortly after the coronation of Joanna and Louis.

If ever a gleam of good fortune shone on the Queen, it was immediately followed by clouds. Sicily made overtures to her; in 1356 she was crowned queen at Messina. But fighting ensued. Her trusted counsellor, Raymond des Baux, was taken prisoner, and in ransoming him she lost the advantages she had gained. Civil war broke out in Naples, and her husband Louis had as difficult a contest as against the Hungarians. Three years later he died, and she was again alone



AVIGNON : FROM ACROSS THE RIVER.



BEAUCAIRE : HÔTEL DE VILLE.

against a host of dangers. Harassed by the interference of the princes of her family, she resolved to make a fresh marriage, and selected James of Minorca, the nephew of King Robert. But, shortly after their marriage, the death of his father obliged him to claim his inheritance in Spain. Joanna endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain; during his second expedition he died.

Her talents as queen showed to most advantage at this very time. France made an unsuccessful demonstration in Provence. The Dukes of Savoy and Milan attacked Piedmont (part of Joanna's suzerainty), but were defeated. Visconti, the bastard of Milan, led his free companions to lay waste and spoil the kingdom of Naples, but they were driven out by the baronage, and he himself became a prisoner. Her firm administration spread peace and security throughout the kingdom, and made commerce flourish. She encouraged foreign traders; in the city of Naples she built the streets of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Provençals, and the Spanish. She fostered learning and the arts. Above all, she devoted much time and thought to simplifying the laws and improving the administration of justice. When she visited Urban V at Rome on his return from Avignon, he took a pleasure in doing her unusual honour by gifts never before bestowed on a woman sovereign—the golden rose and the consecrated sword and hat.

Since her children had died in infancy, she had to make plans for the succession; the decision she

took should have ensured her also a champion. The princes of Taranto were dead, but the princes of Durazzo were represented by a second Charles, nephew of the first. Her own sister had left a daughter, Margaret. Joanna resolved that these two should marry, and that Charles should inherit. She herself had had considerable share in the upbringing of both of them. Subsequently, Charles had gained permission to fight in the service of the King of Hungary. Had he engaged in any other service, perhaps her claims would have weighed more with him. Now, when she needed help, he was absorbed by the Hungarian interest. Later it corrupted him to actual hostility against her.

Her present danger arose from the rebellion of the Duke of Andria. When she returned from Provence with Louis, she had found that her sister-in-law had married François des Baux in her absence, and without her sanction. Joanna, however, favoured them, and bestowed on François the dukedom of Andria. Moreover, some years later the daughter of the Duke of Andria was betrothed to the holder of the fief of Sicily (in the course of the Sicilian negotiations which left Joanna queen). But ingratitude was the only constancy of the Neapolitan princes and nobles. The duke inherited through his wife the fief of Taranto, and his ambition led him to seize on other territories. During the struggle which ensued, the Duke of Savoy seized his chance of acquiring Piedmont. This was finally lost to Joanna, but Andria and his mercenaries retired.

Her counsellor, Raymond des Baux, her one support in that family, was dead. Impelled by the difficulties of her position, she resolved on a fourth marriage. She chose Otto of Brunswick, and bestowed on him the principality of Taranto.

Hitherto her family had derived its principal support from the Papacy. But when Urban VI was elected, he seemed to have vowed enmity to Queen Joanna from the first. His election had appeared a triumph for Naples, of which he was a native. Joanna had sent him her congratulations. But he wished to obtain a part of Naples for his nephew. With the Duke of Andria he plotted against Joanna, who consequently transferred her allegiance to the rival Pope, Clement VII. This seemed to give an excuse to Urban, who declared that the kingdom (a papal gift) was transferred to Charles of Durazzo, supported by his nephew and by the Duke of Andria; he actually preached a crusade against Joanna.

There was another suitable heir, Louis, of the second House of Anjou. Joanna appointed him in place of Charles, but his help was not immediately forthcoming; the death of the King of France had left him Regent of France. Joanna's position was extraordinarily difficult. The hostility of Urban and of Charles of Durazzo affected her, but did not affect Naples. Her interests were no longer at one with those of her kingdom. For Urban was naturally popular with his fellow-countrymen. Nor was anything known to the detriment of Charles of Durazzo. Her new heir,

on the other hand, was a foreigner to the Neapolitans. In such circumstances Otto's skilful tactics could not avail her. He contrived to place Charles's army between himself and Naples. But treachery in the city opened it to Charles. Otto was impotent, while Joanna and the leading nobles of her party were besieged in the Castel Nuovo. Provençal galleys arrived too late, to find Joanna a prisoner to Charles. Eight months later she was strangled while at prayers in the castle chapel.

Though she had succeeded young, this woman, alone, in a period of disorder, surrounded by enemies in her own dominions as well as beyond them, yet ruled thirty-nine years. The rare moments of peace she had utilised to the utmost for the benefit of the country in commerce, arts, learning, and justice. She gained the respect of Petrarch and Boccaccio. In the Popes Clement VI and Urban V she had friends who valued the nobility of her character while they delighted in her beauty, charm, and brilliancy. She showed generous clemency as well as vigour of character.

In all the storms of her reign, too little is recounted of her happier easeful moments. But here is one story. Galeazzo of Mantua figured at her Court and danced with her. At the conclusion of the dance, he thanked her for the honour done him, and vowed to repay her, if he might, by bestowing on her two knights. This he accomplished, for in the space of a year he returned bringing two knights whom he had captured. Very graciously she received him with courteous

thanks. Then on the knights she bestowed their liberty, inviting them, if they wished, to view the curiosities of Naples before returning to their own countries, and giving them money to accomplish their desires.

XIV

RÉNÉ

**Early education—Declares for France—Imprisonment by Burgundy—
Inherits Naples—Hopeless struggle for throne—Settles at Angers
—Right hand of France—Troubles of last years—Poetry and arts
—Anjou and Provence—Private tastes predominate.**

PROVENCE had two famous rulers of whom everyone knows something. The second was René, and he belongs to Provence itself much more than Queen Jeanne does. In character and person he was as romantic a figure as herself. Could he have been her consort, he would have served her devotedly. What a splendid Court they would have maintained ! Nor would he have failed her in force of character. To suppose him weak, given over to pleasure, is a superficial judgment. The circumstances of his life deny it ; he too contended with adversity. Was he possibly a poet and artist before he was a prince ? His nature was very richly endowed.

His early days were passed, with five other children, under the care of his mother, Yolande of Aragon, wife of Louis II of Anjou and Naples (that wife whom Louis went disguised to see by stealth when she landed in France ; with whom he fell deeply in love). There was his elder brother, the future Louis III of Naples, born in 1403. There was his sister, Marie, born in 1404. The future

Charles VII of France was betrothed to her and lived with them; he was of the same age as Louis. René himself was born in 1409, and there were a younger brother and sister. Not only did Yolande superintend their education; as they grew up she helped them administer their fiefs. In the government of her husband's dominions during his absence at Naples, in her teaching to the children under her care, Yolande did much to promote the unity of France. René learnt early a lesson which explains his whole life—to subordinate his own interests to those of France.

In 1419, René was adopted as heir by the childless Duke of Bar, on the understanding that he should marry Isabelle of Lorraine, and re-unite the two provinces. The following year they were betrothed, and, as was customary, he became the ward of his father-in-law until he should be fifteen. At the Court of Lorraine his love of literature and music received fresh impetus. In politics his position was difficult. Both Bar and Lorraine were allies of Burgundy. But it was Yolande's hope that René would eventually make them allies of France. His earliest lessons, then, seemed to be in tact and politics, from a deep-seated devotion to the throne of France. Jeanne d'Arc judged him truly when she asked the Duke of Lorraine to give her René and some soldiers to take her to the Court of France; but her request was not granted.

René could not uphold his convictions until he was twenty. In that year the old cardinal Duke of Bar renewed his alliance with Henry VI of

England, and did homage. René immediately disavowed his uncle's acts, joined the French army, and was present at Charles's coronation. A large part of the year was spent in fighting for Charles, and he took part in the attack on Paris when the Pucelle was wounded by an arrow. In the following year he inherited Bar, and, a year later, Lorraine, in 1431. But a cousin of his wife's, who had claims on Lorraine, obtained help from Burgundy. At the battle of Bulgneville, René received three wounds, and was taken prisoner by the Burgundians.

His imprisonment lasted for a year; he was then temporarily released to make arrangements for his ransom. By the betrothal of his daughter to Ferri de Vaudemont, son of the Lorraine claimant, he obtained peace. But in 1434 he was back in prison, and remained there two years longer. The Emperor had heard the case between him and Burgundy and had adjudged Bar and Lorraine to René. The Duke of Burgundy revenged himself by treating René with a harshness that was unusual. The ransom demanded was excessive, and René suffered serious hardships as a prisoner. To these were added the mental torment of knowing that a glorious inheritance awaited him outside his prison. In 1435 his brother Louis died, and he inherited Anjou, Provence, and Naples. Louis III had actually reigned in Naples; news of his death was sent in cipher by the Angevin party to bankers in Provence. A Jew of Avignon decoded the cipher, and word was got through to René.

In the autumn of that year he must have felt something like despair. Peace was made between France and Burgundy. Forgetful of all René's support and fighting service, the weak Charles VII concluded peace without obtaining his release. At last, at the end of 1436, René was conditionally liberated to make further arrangements for the ransom, and in February 1437 he became a free man. Burgundy had tried to deprive him of the whole dukedom of Bar, but he had saved that and Lorraine.

With the help of his sister, the Queen of France, he contrived to raise money and sail for Naples. The difficulties which faced him there could hardly have developed but for his imprisonment. His accession would have followed naturally on the rule of his brother. Jeanne II had named him her heir ; he was approved by the Pope, and the Neapolitans favoured him. But Aragon had time to establish an old claim, and the treachery of Visconti of Milan surrendered Gaëta to Alphonso of Aragon. René's wife had hurried to Naples to do what she could. The Pope sent her troops, but their leader played a double game, and René found on his arrival his two great fortresses, the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell' Ovo, in the hands of the Aragonese. Nevertheless, that must have been a great moment when he and his wife and children met again and when his people greeted him. He was made for a ruler ; at the age of twenty-nine he shone in all those personal attractions which arouse affection and loyalty. One of his first acts was to make a gift to his wife

of what was loveliest in the new inheritance. She had struggled to uphold his rights. He gave her Amalfi, Sorrento, and Castellamare.

He now threw himself heart and soul into the fighting. The Aragonese evaded his challenge to a pitched battle, attempted to besiege Naples but had to retire, and he recovered his two castles. But his progress was checked by the death of his old general and the unreliability of the general's son, Caldora. Young Caldora was in the Abruzzi, and, between him and René, the country was in Aragonese occupation. Counting on René's impotence, he threatened to go over to the Aragonese unless René could join him. René set off instantly with only a handful of men and scarcely any provisions. He dashed past some of the Aragonese garrisons, and evaded others by climbing higher into the snow-covered Apennines. It was the end of January and beginning of February. But he achieved his purpose. He effected his junction with Caldora. And the skill and courage of this sudden movement roused a response in his people. Alphonso of Aragon spoke of him as "the lion let loose."

But, like Jeanne I, he was to find himself powerless before treachery. When, with Caldora's army, he returned to attack Alphonso, Caldora refused to advance. Caldora was worthless. There was only one thing to do—to dash back through the Aragonese lines into Naples. There he was shut in with his small force and prepared to fight to the last. All his allies failed him—the Pope, the Genoese, the heir of Milan; he could only send his wife and children to Provence and

prepare for the siege. It is a remarkable proof of his force of character and of his popularity that Naples should have endured a seven months' siege. The end came, of course, by treachery : the town was entered. René still held the castles and a fleet ; consequently he was able to embark for Florence. There he met his allies ; but to no purpose. By 1442 he was back in Provence, and the struggle at an end. His imprisonment had done him untold injury. To that was added lack of ready money. He might reasonably have hoped for French support, but did not get it. When treachery was added to all his difficulties, no skill or courage could succeed.

During the next twenty years, René returned to the service of France to good effect. He made his son Jean, Duke of Calabria, his lieutenant-general in Bar and Lorraine, and established his own principal residence at Angers, where he was near the French Court. He utilised his military experience to help Charles VII organise the free companies into an army. In military questions he showed marked ability ; it was he who introduced into Italy a primitive machine-gun or portable cannon. In the campaign of Normandy of 1449 the French success was due to René's generalship, and in Guienne he also fought for France. His reputation as a general stood so high that Milan and Florence were glad to entice him to fight their battles with promises of support at Naples. The alliance proved fruitless, but he was able to do service to France at Genoa. His devotion to France did not blind him to other

claims. He refused the extradition of the famous Jacques Cœur, who had fallen into disgrace at the French Court. Nevertheless, for twenty years he was the right hand of the French king.

But Louis XI succeeded to the French throne. René's influence was waning, but not his goodwill. Hitherto he had been associated with every reform in France. But he had once prevented Louis from trespassing on his father's rights; Louis never forgave him. René's son was making a fresh effort to gain Naples; Louis XI allied himself with the enemy. Louis had a peculiar way of contending with those he disliked. He endeavoured to win over their patron saints to his side. To this end he had visited the shrine of La Sainte Baume in Provence, and he offered a magnificent reliquary to St. Martha of Tarascon, René's patron saint. Nevertheless, René supported Louis in the *Guerre du Bien Public*, and was empowered to negotiate the treaty which ended it. Louis disliked him, but could not fail to trust him. Everyone had confidence in his integrity.

The last years of his life were clouded. His daughter Margaret, Queen of England, was a fugitive; his son was dead, and his grandson. René was obliged to make a will and to consider Louis XI, who had actually seized Anjou and Bar. Hearing a rumour that René intended to leave part of his dominions to Burgundy, Louis even impeached him for high treason. At last his death, in 1481, followed by that of his nephew, Charles of Maine, in the following year, brought Anjou and Provence to France.

So much must be related of his share in war and politics to dispel the fancy that he could ever have been merely a dilettante trifler. Perhaps it would be truer to say of him that, more gifted than other rulers, his nature made other claims on him, and gave him its own compensations. In an age of versatility, his gifts were outstanding. He dabbled in literature ; that is to say, he collaborated with professionals, possibly suggesting to them an outline and general scheme, which they carried out in detail. Of the *Livre des Tournois*, the *Livre du cœur d'amours épris*, the *Mortification de vaine plaisance*, some share is attributed to him personally. He appreciated Alain Chartier, and carried on a poetical correspondence with Charles d'Orléans. He knew and encouraged all the talent of the day. At his Court might be met as many savants, artists, poets, as churchmen and politicians, and he drew on Spain and eastern Europe as well as France and Italy. Tradition says that he made his first acquaintance with Van Eyck while in captivity. He carried into Italy the new idea of oil painting. He is believed to have himself painted, and possibly to have stained glass. He certainly illuminated. His appreciation of art made him a generous patron, not only to painters, but to innumerable craftsmen, tapestry and carpet weavers, jewellers, silversmiths, medallers, armourers, furnishers. The striking retable at St. Didier at Avignon was his commission to Laurana. Probably he enriched very many foundations in like manner. Music was one of his earliest pleasures. Possibly he himself played an

instrument. He founded a choir of twelve singers for his private chapel. Their reputation stood so high that Louis XI hastened to secure their services at René's death. Any great noble who wished to give René a pleasure would lend him the best singer in his pay.

And René took pleasure in a form of art now little understood—the art of ceremonies. He loved to plan the celebration of a ceremonial occasion and to take part in its observance. He was not alone in founding a new order of knighthood, but he was unique in his participation in public festivals. He devised the ceremonies for the exposition of the saints' relics at Les Saintes Maries, and laid down the order of service. At Angers was preserved an urn which was said to be one of those used at the wedding in Cana of Galilee. He planned an annual celebration associated with it. At Aix he encouraged the processions of the Fête Dieu: at Tarascon the procession of the Tarasque. In the pageant of arms he found equal inspiration. He delighted in tournaments, and himself took part in them.

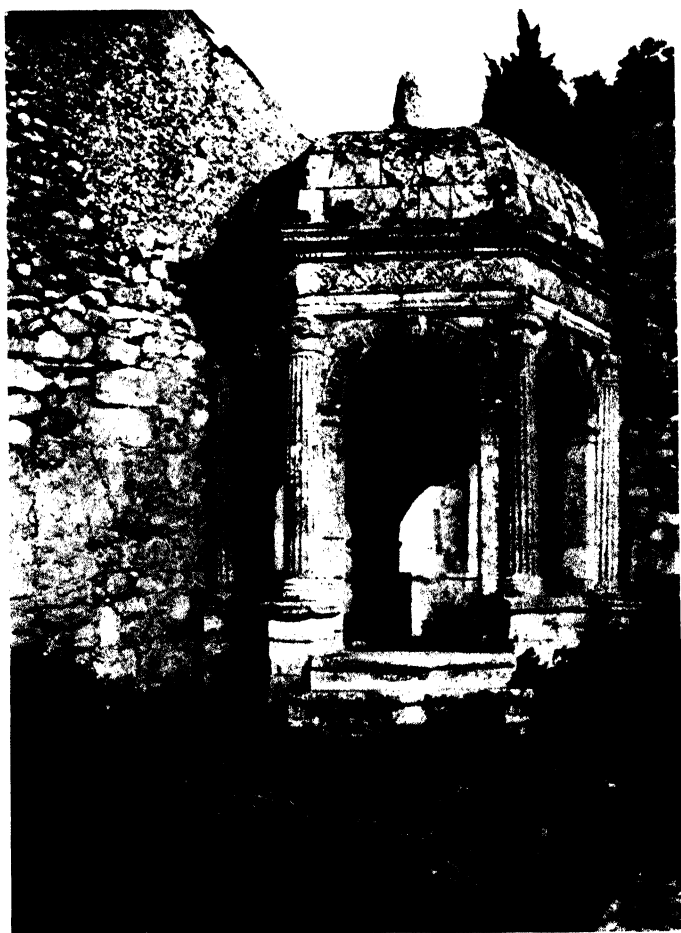
René's first appearance in Anjou and Provence was in 1437, on his release from prison. The cities of Arles, of Aix, and of Marseilles offered him magnificent fêtes. On his return from Italy he went almost directly to Anjou, and it was at Angers that the marriage of his daughter with Henry VI of England was celebrated with fêtes and tournaments. At this time he did much to improve the administration of Anjou, and enriched Angers with gardens, monuments,

bridges, charitable foundations. His own castle there had notable gardens, with a menagerie and aviary. After spending three or four years at Angers, he revisited Provence, and sent envoys to Lyons to confer with the French envoys with a view to ending the papal schism. (One of the French delegates was Jacques Cœur, to whom, seven years later, René was to give asylum. Both Jacques Cœur and his nephew were on friendly terms with René. From their voyages they would bring him strange animals, Moorish coins, armour, fabrics, and works of art.) This stay in Provence was celebrated by a great tournament at Tarascon known as the Pas de la Bergère. At Tarascon he had his castle and at Aix-en-Provence he had a palace.

He could not alternate frequently between his fiefs. The transport of his household from one to the other was a great undertaking which could not be repeated very often. A fleet of river barges carried his family and household (including the chapel singers) and officials up-river from Angers all the way to Roanne. From here it was no very great land journey—about sixty miles—to Lyons, where they embarked again, and proceeded down stream to Tarascon. Besides all the passengers, great quantities of material had to be transported—plate, linen, hangings, clothes, papers, and every sort of accessory. Sometimes they were delayed. Once, at Saumur, it was necessary to dismantle a bridge to give his boats passage. In general the journey occupied about a fortnight.

In 1454 his second marriage was celebrated with great rejoicings at Angers. His first wife had defended his political interests. His second marriage was a love match, and he shared with Jeanne de Laval his taste for country life and scenes, for poetry and the arts. It was Jeanne de Laval who loved Les Baux, and largely reconstructed the castle there. It is possible that some traits of this Jeanne have been blended in the popular memory with Jeanne I of Naples and Provence, for Jeanne de Laval was also loved in Provence.

This marriage was a source of great happiness to René. As time went on he was able to withdraw more and more from public life ; and the sympathy of his wife encouraged him to give scope to the other sides of his nature. It was in 1465 that he helped to end the Guerre du Bien Public. As late as 1469 and 1470 he participated in tournaments at Amboise and Angers. Then, in 1471, he moved from Angers and settled permanently in Provence for the last ten years of his life. In doing so he followed the dictates of his inmost nature. He had had as full and varied an experience of life as a man may have. He had known Court and camp life, politics, State. An artist, he had suffered imprisonment during the best years of his life, and with an inheritance waiting for him. A poet, he had possessed Naples and lost it. He knew life in all its aspects. Having enjoyed much he could also relinquish much. He knew, better than many, what was most worth having.



LES BAUX : PAVILLON DE LA REINE JEANNE.

XV

THE TOWNS

TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON ARCHITECTURE

Roman remains—The arch—Roman architecture eclectic—Transition illustrated in Provence—Pointed arch precedes round—Clerestory *versus* aisleless churches—Roman detail—Byzantine figures—Aigues-Mortes—Aix—Arles—Avignon—Les Baux—Beaucaire—Camaret—Carpentras—Cavaillon—Châteauneuf du Pape—Courthézon—Entraigues—Le Thor—Maillane—Marseilles—Martigues—Montfaucon—Montfavet—Montmajour—Nîmes—Nôves—Orange—Pont du Gard—Pont Flavien—Roquemaure—St. Gabriel—St. Gilles—St. Paul-Trois Châteaux—St. Rémy—Les Saintes Maries—Tarascon—Vaison—Vienne.

THE Roman remains of Provence are both numerous and well preserved. They are dispersed over a wide area in small groups. St. Rémy has its two triumphal monuments, Orange its theatre and arch—some towns more, some less. For this reason they can be studied gradually and are easy to grasp. A study of Provence is an introduction to Rome. To appreciate Rome, it would be a great advantage to be familiar first with the buildings of Provence. Here may be seen amphitheatres, theatres, triumphal arches, temples, aqueducts, towers, gates, bridges. To certain periods of Roman history, Provence probably affords a richer illustration than any other part of the Empire.

The Romans had taken from the Etruscans the idea of emphasising the arch in architecture. The

arch was always known, but its construction was partially concealed. The Etruscans first made it a feature in their work. The Romans extended its use, and built tunnel and intersecting vaults. But they did not develop from that an architecture founded entirely on the arch. They combined with it the Greek orders, although these were functionally useless. The greater part of their work shows this combination. Nîmes amphitheatre exemplifies it very clearly. It is not a pure style ; but the appeal to the eye is impressive and effective. The Pont du Gard, on the other hand, is an example of pure arch structure. There is a similar simplicity about the remains of aqueducts round Rome, to some people a greater beauty than the dramatic character of most Roman building.

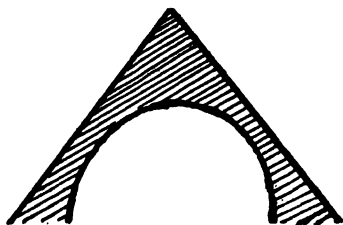
Towards the end of the Empire the idea of curving the architrave was discovered by some builders. By doing this, they gave a purpose to the columns, making the arch rest directly on their capitals. The beginning of this idea may be traced on a sarcophagus at Arles. It is the great interest of Provençal architecture that it illustrates so clearly how Roman building developed into mediæval and Gothic. Between the amphitheatre at Nîmes and the Gothic cathedrals of the north is an immense gulf. Provence throws a bridge over this gulf.

The churchmen had decided that they wanted a building of the basilican type (derived from the *scholæ* or meeting-places of private societies?), that is to say a long nave with aisles. The

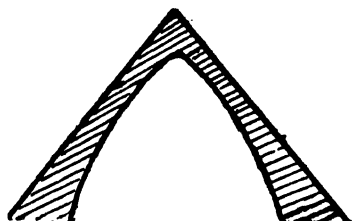
problem was to roof it with stone (for wood was dangerous on account of fire). The problem had been solved in the Nymphæum, or Temple of Diana, at Nîmes. There a *cella* or nave, with two aisles walled off from it, were all barrel-vaulted with stone flags, the thrust of the aisles counteracting the pressure of the *cella*. The mediæval builders could learn from this, and also, as time went on, from the Crusaders' experience of similar solutions in Syria, solutions which perhaps were also inherited from Rome.

Assuming the nave and aisles construction to be used, the builders would naturally incline to the round Roman arch. But no; they did not use that at first, because it was not so convenient. It is generally assumed that the pointed arch must be later than the round one, because the development took this course in northern architecture; this supposition is mistaken. Both were familiar to older civilisations. The pointed arch was used by such differing races as Assyrians and Saracens. In Provence the pointed arch preceded the round arch, but was subsequently rejected.

It is easy to understand the constructional advantages of the pointed arch. Supposing a semi-circular vault is placed beneath a saddleback



roof, there will be great weight of filling just where it is inconvenient, on the vault. But if pointed arches are used, the weight rests on the supporting walls, and is carried naturally.



Moreover, the aisles can be constructed with only a half-segment of a circle on the nave side, as in the second illustration below. In that case, the aisle



will act as a buttress to the nave. This was the plan first adopted by the Provençal builders, and it is easy to see that they did it only from necessity. For they held the round arch more beautiful, and used it in doorways and windows, wherever effect was the first consideration. And as they gained more mastery in the use of their materials, they adopted the round arch in construction also. So that they were beginning to build vaults with it, just when the northern builders were ceasing to use it. And, meanwhile, these northern builders, having learnt from Provence the advantages of a pointed arch, were evolving from it all

the complicated counter-thrusts which made possible the Gothic structure.

There are several churches of this pointed-vault, aisled type in Provence. But they had a drawback, the difficulty of providing a clerestory. Consequently they were very dark, so that many builders preferred the aisleless church. If it is necessary to seek an origin for this, it may perhaps be found in the influence of St. Front, Périgueux. Owing to the interest of a colony of Venetians there, this church was built in imitation of St. Mark's, Venice, that is to say in the shape of a Greek cross. The nave was aisled at St. Mark's, but the aisle was not a feature of the structure as it is in a basilican church, and was omitted in some of the buildings which are derived from St. Front. St. Front probably suggested the Eastern domes which also appear in Provence.

These aisleless churches of Provence needed more roof support. They gained it by throwing transverse ribs across the church, and this was also done in the naves of aisled churches. This, too, was a Syrian plan, but it hardly seems necessary to go as far as Syria for it. San Miniato, above Florence, has three great arches across the nave, dividing it into three parts, each the length of three longitudinal bays. These great arches would knit the structure together whatever happened to the roof. In the churches of Provence, the ribs sprang from pilasters, carried up from the nave piers.

But the first impression that the Provençal churches give is of continuity with Roman

architecture. The greater part of the detail is carried over from Rome, together with actual Roman pillars and capitals in some cases. Mouldings and cornices, pediments and architraves of doorways, are Roman. Modillions remain in the cornices, suggestive of the timber joists of earliest classical construction. Even archæologists have been deceived in the porch of the cathedral at Avignon, attributing the whole of it to the Romans.

The leaf sculpture, the capitals, the mouldings belong to the Roman tradition, and some of the figure sculpture. But the great school of carving in the early Middle Ages was Byzantium. All sorts of carved work emanated thence, including perhaps figure sculpture. Some authorities attribute great importance to this influence in the sculptured figures of St. Trophime and St. Gilles.

Finally, where a church appears unusually plain and devoid of ornament, this may be attributed to the Cistercians. The early Cistercians reverted to ideas of primitive simplicity, and their style is well illustrated by Montmajour Abbey.

To sum up, the characteristic points are :

1. The wide distribution of Roman work.
2. Consequently, the continuity of Roman influence, shown in the preference for the round arch, and also shown by classical detail of mouldings and sculpture.
3. The use of the pointed vault in construction earlier than the round, whereas the contrary was the case in the north.

4. The aisleless churches, due to the difficulty of lighting.

5. The influence of Syria in structure, of Byzantium for sculpture.

The towns and places of interest are arranged alphabetically. For those who are not fettered by time-tables and trains, it is worth while to mention a few little places, which can form part of the route if convenient. It is also a good plan to see some places before others, as Vienne before Nîmes, St. Rémy before Les Baux and Arles—in fact Arles last. Other places might be mentioned if time were unlimited. It may be a convenience to know that there are satisfactory hotels even at such small places as Les Baux (Reine Jeanne) and Aigues-Mortes (Saint Louis).

Aigues-Mortes.—The Tour Carbonnière, about two miles from the town, is seen as one approaches Aigues-Mortes. It was the outpost to the fortifications, and resembles the contemporary tower of Philip le Bel at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.

The walls of the town were built under Philip le Bel also: only the Tour de Constance is Louis IX's work. It was originally a plain cylinder with a *talus* or sloping base, and was surrounded by a ditch. Wooden gangways connected it with the walls when necessary. The upper part was surrounded by a closed wooden gallery, from which the defence commanded the base of the tower. (An illustration may be seen at Carcassonne, where it is restored.) The vaulting is notable in this tower. The hall of the first floor

has recesses giving access to slits in the wall for shooting downwards towards the base of the tower. The top of the tower was altered in the sixteenth century to take cannon. It has a watch-turret, and the grille held the beacon-light.

Most of the towers of the town are of the round northern shape, as one would expect of a builder employed by the French king. The gateways, however, are pierced through the towers as at Avignon. Where the towers interrupt the parapets on the inside, the parapet walk is carried on continuous corbelling. The parapet is crenelated. In the merlons, or sections of wall separated by the embrasures, are long slits. Lower down, in the towers, these slits are so long as to enable a sitting bowman to shoot as well as a standing man. All round the walls were wooden galleries, as to the Tour de Constance. The Porte de Nîmes formed an independent outwork if necessary. Above, and on one side, is a balcony, which was suitable for parleying with the enemy. The drawbridge was added later.

Aix was the earliest Roman settlement. Its baths drew to it visitors and residents from the cultivated and noble class. It developed its character then: it has never changed. It was not commercial, like Arles and Marseilles. It was dignified, cultured, leisurely. It became the capital of the Comté of Provence, and a university. It remains a town of very strongly marked individuality. Perhaps the Cours Mirabeau is at its best of an afternoon with the fountain and sunset mingling. But then the beautiful avenues

of planes make it too dark for one to appreciate the seventeenth and eighteenth century mansions. Altogether there is nothing for it but to dawdle a little at Aix. Even after one has climbed past the fine Hôtel-de-Ville and under the Provençal clock-tower (crowned, like others, with ironwork), on to the Law Schools and Cathedral, one has not exhausted Aix. There are so many fountains, delicate columns, grilles, fine doors, vistas. Some of the fountains were the gift of Queen Yolande, René's mother. He himself had a palace with magnificent gardens and aviary at Aix.

The south aisle of the cathedral was originally the nave. The present nave was added later. The west door of this south aisle will be noticed at once as exemplifying Roman detail. The baptistery represents an earlier Roman temple, though whether it stands on the same site or has borrowed the columns from an adjoining site is not quite certain. It is octagonal, as fonts and baptisteries often were. According to mediæval theory, man's life was represented by the number seven, as in the seven ages of man, and therefore eight stands for new life, re-birth. The carved west doors of the nave, the pictures in the church, and the beautiful tapestries are well worth seeing.

On the south side of the cathedral, accessible from outside as well as from the church, are the cloisters. The delicate pairs of columns are surmounted by variously carved capitals, mostly leaf, deeply undercut. The arches they support are recessed, and some are carved with zigzag mouldings. The elaboration of the sculpture

and the variety of the shafts are particularly striking. One recent writer draws attention to the beauty of the arcading on the exterior, which has no parallel at Arles or Montmajour.

Two miles' walk from the town is an old fortification, Entremont, believed to be Ligurian. A hill projects into the valley in which part of the town lies. It commands two or three valleys, and would be a natural strategic position for hill tribes. Stones collected close by were built into rough walls. At a few points it is still possible to see a lower footwalk of stone inside the rampart, on which the sentinel could stand behind the protection of the wall. Several finds from Entremont are in the Aix museum. A stone carving of four severed heads is supposed to represent a battle trophy.

The Montagne Sainte Victoire is the landmark at Aix. On the plains below took place the slaughter of Pourrières, Marius's victory (see *St. Rémy*). By the advice of his prophetess, Martha, Marius celebrated the victory by sacrificing a hundred of his prisoners, who were flung down the precipices of the mountain.

Arles.—Every writer comments on the Greek legacy to Arles—the beauty of its women. While still a subject city to Massilia, it was itself a busy seaport. Boat-building is still carried on now as it was then, when the city supplied Julius Cæsar with vessels to use against Massilia.

Under the Romans it became more and more important. In the first place, the Romans brought the old Phœnician trading road (to

Spain) into touch with Arles, and built a wooden bridge over the river. This was the only bridge below Vienne in Roman times. Thus the city stood on sea and river and high-road. Roads ran from it to Marseilles and Aix. It stood in a fertile district, untouched by war. The rich harvest of the surrounding plains met the produce of every part of the Empire in the markets of Arles. The city soon out-distanced Massilia. In its streets was seen every variety of race and costume. Its trade was governed by great business corporations. To this material prosperity was added artistic wealth when it became an Imperial residence, Arelate Constantini. It was rich in fine buildings, statuary, and marbles.

The Venus of Arles is in the Louvre ; one can see a cast of it in London at the British Museum. Even without this the *musée lapidaire* is rich, with its dancers, its altars, its sarcophagi, its panels, its Roman lead-piping from the aqueduct. MacGibbon, in his *Architecture of Provence* draws attention to a sarcophagus there. Roman figures represent scenes from the life of Christ. These scenes are divided by arches supported on capitals—the very interesting architectural transition referred to in the introduction on architecture above.

What is described as the Palace of Constantine is really the baths of the Roman city. Baths were lounging places, clubs, reading-rooms to the citizens, and were often very extensive. At these it is easy to see how the flat Roman tiles facilitated arch construction. They were used in conjunction with the very hard Roman cement of which

the secret is now unknown. There is also here a vault which shows very plainly how a skeleton construction was erected in brick and then filled in with rubble.

Arles had once a triumphal arch, the Arc Admirable. It is possibly a part of this which is built into the walls of the Hôtel du Nord.

The letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, a nobleman, and later Bishop of Clermont Ferrand, were written in the fifth century. At Arles he attended the Emperor's banquet. Such an occasion, perhaps, suggested his letter descriptive of a feast at a friend's house: "Bring out hangings of fine linen, ruddy of hue: bring purple steeped with Melibœan dye in brazen vessels to enrich the fleece with purest stain. . . . Let the round table be spread with linen purer than snow, and covered with laurel, with ivy, and the green growths of the vine. Pile great baskets high with cytissus and crocus, starwort and cassia, privet and marigold; let sideboard and couch be gay with garlands of sweet scent. Let servitors bear in on laden shoulders viands fit for kings, their necks bowed under silver richly chased. In patera and bowl and cauldron let nard mingle with Falernian wine; let wreaths of roses crown tripod and cup" (*Letters of Sidonius*, translated by O. M. Dalton¹). He goes on to describe the music which accompanied the feast, and the praises of literature. He himself was a poet, and lived among men who gave a great part of their time to literature. Sport they enjoyed, and

¹ Oxford, Clarendon Press.

games, and they took a pride in their great estates.

In the decay of the Roman power, the Church had great duties laid upon it. It was organisation and system : the Goths and Burgundians marvelled at it and learnt from it. The Archbishop of Arles was a man of great importance. His see took precedence of all the Gallic sees, because the first bishop, St. Trophimus, was a disciple of St. Peter. There was also at Arles a famous abbey, that of St. Césaire. The ideals of monastic life derived from the East ; this was the first monastery in France to adopt a written rule of life in accordance with Western habits and ideas.

In the Greek theatre, the two pillars originally formed part of the decoration of the back wall. At Orange this back wall still remains, and from these two pillars of Arles one can gain some conception of the magnificence of Orange in Roman times. Here, too, in the Greek theatre at Arles may be seen the portal of a temple to Diana. On the site of this temple there stood later a mediæval convent, an example of worship attaching to a locality. It was not merely in order to make use of the structure that a pagan temple was often adapted to Christian worship. The spot itself was sacred. Thus at Chartres the sacred spring of the Druids was built into the crypt of the cathedral. So at Arles, quite naturally, a convent of women, wedded to Christ, took the place of the priestesses of Diana.

The Aliscamps, too, link Roman days with mediæval, for centuries are epitomized in that

avenue. It was already a burial-place under the Romans. Later it became the most sought-after place of Christian burial in all the country. Bodies were brought from far for burial there. St. Trophimus was buried there. It also gave its name to an old French epic poem.

In the Middle Ages, Arles was the capital of the kingdom of Arles and Burgundy. Frederick Barbarossa and other kings were crowned there. The cathedral, originally dedicated to St. Stephen, had just been rebuilt in honour of St. Trophimus, and his remains had been translated there with great pomp. No doubt the Emperor noted the portal; possibly the carvers were still at work. It was an epitome of the Bible for men who could not read. It recalled the scenes of the life of Christ and of His Mother, it brought the saints to earth, and it drew a vivid picture of the Last Judgment. Above the central pillar of the door are the Apostles. Then, beginning at the north end of the frieze, we have the Fall, then the line of men and women who are saved (including two kings), led by an angel who presents their souls to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The soul is represented in mediæval sculpture by a child. Beyond the Apostles, St. Raphael guards the entrance to Purgatory under the Divine guidance (Divinity is expressed by a hand outstretched). Various persons figure in Purgatory : beyond them are the damned on their way to Hell, which itself is shown. One of the panels beneath represents their tortures, another the weighing of their souls. On the narrower band of frieze appears Joseph's

dream, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Shepherds, the Presentation in the Temple, and the visit of the Magi. Note that the Magi are received by Herod with an armed guard; also that when they experience the warning dream they are asleep in one bed. This feature of the slumbering Magi in one bed recurs in the cloisters and elsewhere in France. Their horses' heads are most beautifully carved. Finally, there is the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt. The panels below represent (from north to south) St. Peter, St. John, St. Trophimus, St. James the Less, St. Bartholomew, or possibly St. Thomas, St. Paul, St. Andrew, Stephen being stoned, St. James the Great, and St. Philip.

The porch plan is described by Viollet le Duc as Syrian, and the figures as showing Byzantine influence. But one may also see the classical orders lingering, for beneath the archivolts a cornice and frieze are carried by pillars resting on a podium. The whole porch is clearly imitated from the earlier and finer one at St. Gilles. This porch at Arles was originally the latest part of a much older church, which was replaced by the present nave and aisles. The nave has pointed tunnel vaults and is abutted by the aisle vaults, which are only a half-segment of a circle on the side nearest the nave. It is strengthened with transverse arches. The plainness of the piers and columns is said to be due to Cistercian influence. When this later church was built, it was made much loftier than the previous one. But the tower arches could not be altered. Consequently,

a curtain of wall obstructs the view of the choir.

The cloisters are entered from the church. The two earlier walks are twelfth-century like the portal. They are barrel-vaulted, with transverse ribs resting on the piers of the outer walls, and on consoles on the inner walls. The vault is ramped up on the inner side because the present flat roof (forming a promenade) was formerly a lean-to, such as one can see in Montmajour cloisters. As it was a lean-to roof, there could be no difficulty, either, about using the round vault. The outer walls are buttressed by pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and everywhere much Roman ornament may be discerned, including frets, guilloches, scrolls, and fluting. The twelfth-century walks have round arches, resting on pairs of columns crowned with a single abacus.

The figures are in the Byzantine style. As one enters, one is face to face with St. Trophimus. On his right is St. Peter, on his left St. John, and a panel of the three Marys has been inserted between St. John and St. Trophimus, and of the Resurrection between St. Peter and St. Trophimus. Close by are the disciples at Emmaus. Walking eastward from here, the capitals of the three pairs of columns which follow depict the raising of Lazarus, the sacrifice of Abraham, the stories of Balaam and his ass and of Balak. Then follow three panels, St. James of Compostella between a Christian pilgrim and a Moor. The next three pairs of capitals show the angels' visit to Abraham and St. Paul preaching. Beyond them, three

panels represent Christ with St. Thomas on his right and St. James on his left. Episodes from the story of Moses appear on the capital which follows.

The corner has now been reached, where the statue of St. Stephen is flanked on the right by his stoning and by St. Matthew, on the left by the Ascension and by St. Paul. The next group of capitals relates the story of the Virgin, and above are carved the symbols of the Evangelists. Beyond them the centre panel originally portrayed the Flagellation of Christ : on one side is the soldier, on the other Judas Iscariot. The story of Christ occupies the next capitals and continues beyond the panels of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Above are the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Of the panels at the corner, only Gamaliel can be identified : the carvings represent the Last Supper, followed by the scene in the Garden of Olives, and the Tempting of Christ by the Devil.

Beyond the corner the capitals represent the preaching of the Gospel and the sufferings of its servants. Finally, in the last walk of the cloister, it is possible to trace the stoning of Stephen, the story of Samson, St. Martha and the Tarasque, Mary Magdalene, the Annunciation, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the first Pentecost.

Aix cloisters have already been seen. They are an immense step forward from those at Vaison. But what a contrast they form with the marvellous achievement at St. Trophime ! Montmajour, too, planned noble cloisters, but they are of a

much simpler order than these. The Arles cloisters are the crowning achievement of the Romanesque. There was no further advance in this direction.

Perhaps the best view of the tower of St. Trophime is that obtainable from the cloisters. Perfectly proportioned, it rises in four receding stages. The pilasters of the fourth stage are another reminiscence of Roman work.

The tower of St. Honorat des Aliscamps has a *Lanterne des Morts*. A light would be placed in the tower during the interval between death and burial. Owing to the wide tower openings, it would be visible from far. There is one also at the chapel of St. Croix at Montmajour, and one at Les Baux.

Arles has a fine clock-tower to its *Hôtel-de-Ville*, a tower influenced by the monument at St. Rémy. The *Hôtel-de-Ville* itself should be compared with that of Beaucaire. Adjoining it, and west of it, is a Romanesque house. The visitor should also go down to the river at the east end of the town and walk along the embankment to the bridge. In this way it is easy to find the grand priory, and the ruins of the Dominican monastery, now stables. On the other side of the town, the buildings of the Dominican sisters are equally ill-used. Possibly there is a tradition hostile to Dominicans in towns which favoured the Albigenian heresy. Near the Dominican convent the apse of St. Jean du Moustier still survives, its exterior decorated with fluted pilasters. The suburb of Trinquetaille should also be visited for

the view of Arles. Trinquetaille was founded in the fourth century : it was a possession of the Baux family.

Montmajour illustrates several periods. To the original cell of St. Trophimus was added a cloister. The church, the curious, bewildering crypt, and the fine cloisters are twelfth-century. From these one looks up at the later tower, with its Renaissance tablet. And all round are abandoned eighteenth-century constructions, including a fine outside staircase. The great church was evidently intended to have been larger by yet another bay. It is an aisleless church, with pointed tunnel vaults, but round arches elsewhere. It shows the Cistercian plainness. The arrangement of the choir of the crypt is very unusual. Probably there was once an earlier church corresponding to the present cloisters. These are barrel-vaulted, the vault being supported by transverse ribs resting on consoles. The triple round arches are grouped under a segmental arch. This latter is deeply recessed, giving an impression of strength. But for strength one has only to study the great donjon keep which dominates the whole group of buildings. From its roof should be viewed the striking little chapel of St. Croix, an absolute study in geometrical construction. Its plan is Eastern, and so is the curious cresting on the porch. But, approaching nearer, one sees that the porch shows Roman detail. There is a *Lanterne des Morts*, like that at St. Honorat.

Avignon.—The Greeks got as far north as

Avignon. At that time, and in Roman days, its *rocher* and buildings were landmarks in an area largely covered with water. But it had little importance then compared with Aix and Arles. The forum corresponded more or less with the modern Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville. Traces of it have been found below the Hôtel-de-Ville and the theatre.

Roman influence and Roman pillars persisted in the porch of the cathedral, which is so very classical as to have deceived antiquaries into thinking it an actual Roman structure. In this it resembles the porches of Le Thor and St. Gabriel. Columns, carvings, beadings, cornices, capitals, all revert to Rome. Doorways, more than any part of a structure, exemplify these features, and present the Roman inheritance.

The original church, of which a large part remains, was built in the time of Charlemagne (ninth century). It was an aisleless nave with pointed tunnel vaults and transverse ribs. The arrangement of the bay before the apse is noteworthy ; it is roofed with a lantern, and this is curiously supported on recessed arches. The original character of the church is concealed by later rebuilding. One cannot picture papal ceremonies in it as it stands now, greatly altered from the fourteenth century. In the absence of seating, its fine proportions are revealed, and the balconies over the flattened arches of the side chapels are very effective.

The dignified Mint opposite was built about sixty years before these balconies, in 1610.



MARTIGUES : FAÇADE OF CHURCH.

Probably it may be considered unequalled in its style outside Italy. It is an interesting index of the standing of the town even at that late date, and should be compared with the Hôtel-de-Ville of Arles, built sixty years later. That at Beaucaire is also related to them.

The episcopal palace was first extended to form a papal palace by John XXII, the second Pope to reside at Avignon. But his alterations were trifling compared with the additions of his two successors, Benedict XII and Clement VI. In the work of these two men their characters can be read. What did Benedict add? Towers and fortifications to guard the accumulating papal treasures. He desired a strong place above all. But Clement VI, whose Court was the most sumptuous in Europe, desired to receive his guests in proper state; he built the Salle de l'Audience, and here probably Joanna of Naples pleaded her cause.

In a structure so constantly rebuilt, and to which so much has been added, there can be little architectural design. Moreover, it has suffered much from use as a barracks, and since then has been greatly restored. The main impression it gives both internally and externally is of strength. It is not a palace, in spite of Clement VI. It is a castle or a fort. It withstood a seven months' siege under Benedict XIII. At the end of that time he escaped, so that it did not surrender.

Strength is expressed in every line of the façade. The original window openings are few.

Projections of the building were not designed to give life to it by the play of light and shadow. They afforded a fresh means of protection, for they enabled the garrison to take attackers in flank. The great engaged arches added their share to the defence ; they carry the machicolations which enabled the garrison to project missiles, pitch, oil, on an attacking force, without themselves being exposed. (Another way of obtaining the same result may be seen in the town walls, which have the corbelled machicolations of the north). The very appearance of these arches expresses defensive force. This seeking for strength gave also variety. Strength was the sole object, and irregularities in the ground and surroundings were turned to account, so that formality was obliged to give way to an attractive absence of plan, the one aim being the practical one of fortification.

With the cathedral, and the approaches and staircases to it, the palace forms a whole which says plainly enough that once Avignon supplanted Rome. But in the square one is too near it to gain the full effect. The only way to obtain the whole impression is to cross the river. Returning frequently to the other side of the river, one has time to absorb the view. It is this view that is Avignon.

The early mediæval town occupied a much smaller space than that within the present walls. The old walls followed the line of the Rue Trois Colombes, Rue Campane, Rue Philonarde, Rue des Lices, Rue Joseph Vernet, and back to the river.

They rested on the river and on the Rocher des Doms (which no doubt was fortified from earliest times). After the siege of Avignon (see "Religious Wars," p. 105) the walls were destroyed. The present walls were built in the fourteenth century, directly Pope Clement V acquired the town from Queen Joanna of Naples. They were not intended to be very strong in themselves, but rather to serve as an outwork to the palace. They were surrounded by a moat, and this was paved, so that it could easily be cleaned. The gateways had drawbridges for crossing the moat, and outworks on the other side. These gateways have two distinctive southern features. The towers are square instead of round, as in the north, and the entrance is through the tower, instead of passing between protecting towers on either side. The northern corbelled machicolations have already been noted.

One of the gates is the Porte St. Lazare. St. Lazarus was, of course, the saint of lepers, who would have to live outside the city. There is also a Boulevard St. Roch, the saint who was invoked in times of plague.

• The famous bridge at Avignon was built under the auspices of the brotherhood of bridge builders, of whom St. Bénézet was a member. Brotherhoods devoted themselves to the work of bridge-building and providing ferries, collecting money and materials and carrying out the work. This bridge was built in 1188, and a hundred years later they were building the Pont Saint Esprit higher up the river. Until this latter was

constructed, the Avignon bridge brought much prosperity to the town. Bridges were not very frequent, and not only from the difficulty of construction. There was much river traffic, to which bridges were a hindrance. This bridge was built with stone from Villeneuve, and took ten years to construct. The difficulty was very great, since the Rhône rises as much as fifteen feet above its ordinary level in times of flood. Moreover, it had to be almost a thousand yards long. It was sixteen feet wide, and consisted of eighteen arches, of which some rested on the island in the middle. The piers presented an obtuse angle to the stream, and projected so much on either side of the bridge as to suggest a bridge of boats. Each arch is made up of four distinct ones set side by side, but not bonded into each other. This may have been an imitation of the Roman work at Pont du Gard. There were small arches in the piers to liberate the flood water. The whole structure required careful upkeep, which it could not receive during the religious wars of the thirteenth century. The lower chapel of the bridge should on no account be missed. A simple thing has been perfectly achieved. No spot in Avignon gives more sense of repose.

Where the bridge once joined the opposite shore the tower of Philip le Bel is still standing. After the fall of Avignon, it was built by the French king to command the approach to a possibly hostile neighbour. The citizens, who prided themselves on their bridge, must have resented this tower very bitterly, for it was

founded almost on the bridge. It was probably built by a northerner, and is a complete contrast with those of the Avignon walls.

This tower adjoins Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, where there is much to see. The church, with its painted side-chapels, is another aisleless church; it is fourteenth century. The Fort St. André is a very fine example of mediæval fortification. It shows the northern characteristic of round towers; the two entrance ones are peculiarly impressive. The magnificent entrance was furnished with a portcullis at either end. All the rooms in the towers were stone vaulted as well as stone paved, to eliminate the danger of fire. MacGibbon, in his *Architecture of Provence*, draws attention to little guard posts along the north walls, where there were no towers to furnish guard-rooms. They were without shelter from the weather, but had fireplaces.

There are many old fragments about the streets of Villeneuve, but the Chartreuse above all is worth seeing. One visit is hardly enough to do justice to the great entrance, the frescoed chapel, and the beautiful rotunda of the well. In the church the masons' marks chance to be particularly numerous. Each mason had his own sign, and this was a warrant of skill, and also a check on careless building. It will be noticed how one sign recurs at certain difficult points, as about arches, which were entrusted to the same mason.

To return to Avignon, after this excursion across the river, the museum in the Rue Joseph

Vernet repays a visit. Among the statuary is a beautiful draped woman's torso that came from Vaison, and there is a curious representation of the ceremonial vehicle in which the Roman gods were carried to be present at chariot races. There is a good collection of ironwork, but it is not always accessible. There is much ironwork in Provence. Clock-towers in the little walled towns are usually crowned with ironwork. In the museum, too, may be seen a copy of the relief which is in St. Didier's Church—Laurana's Bearing of the Cross. The church is too dark for one to see the relief; one can appreciate it better in the copy.

All Avignon's importance came to it with the papal residence. Here and in Villeneuve cardinals built palaces. Envoys needed quarters. Even royalty was a frequent visitor. To mention a few instances, Clement VI received embassies from Venice, from Castile and Aragon, from Genoa, from the newly elected Emperor. He crowned Robert the Wise King of Sicily and Naples. He had to deal with French accusers come to speak against the memory of Boniface VIII (the adversary of Philip le Bel). The year 1340 saw a magnificent procession of the trophies captured from the Moors of Spain by Alphonso of Portugal—twenty-four royal standards, a hundred horses richly caparisoned and bearing each the scimitar and shield of the dead warrior, twenty Moorish prisoners. The Cham of Tartary's embassy was at Avignon not long after, and Philip VI of France visited it to

make plans for a fresh Crusade. He was accompanied by King John of Bohemia and the King of Navarre, and met by the King of Aragon. Several weeks of Lent were spent at Avignon, and on Good Friday the Pope preached the Crusade. Nothing came of it, nor of a similar gathering later of the kings of France, Cyprus, and Denmark during Urban V's tenure of the see. Urban received the Emperor also.

But a more interesting visitor was Queen Jeanne of Naples. As she was accused of complicity in the murder of her husband, she wished to be publicly exonerated. Together with her second husband, Louis of Taranto, she approached the town in a magnificent procession. The cardinals received her in state. Eight advanced to meet her cortège, walking under a daïs of cloth of gold. They escorted her through the town to the Papal Palace. Here she made her defence in Latin before the Pope and the Sacred College. She had other business, for she needed money to defend her throne of Naples. She therefore sold Avignon to the Pope, who was already in possession of the surrounding Venaissin. Her successor, Louis of Anjou, was crowned King of Naples in the cathedral. So was Louis II, at the age of twelve years. Several other royalties visited it at this time.

At any time there might be fifteen or twenty cardinals in residence. Three of the Popes were actually enthroned there; these must have been occasions of very high state. Nineteen councils took place there. Two papal prisoners there

were Rienzi and the anti-Pope, Nicholas V. St. Catherine visited it to arouse Pope Gregory XI. It saw the siege of Benedict XIII in his own palace. For over a hundred years it was a busy capital.

Petrarch resided here. His Laura was long believed to be a lady of Avignon and to have died of the plague in 1347. But did she really exist, or was she an ideal? The poet is more closely associated with Vacluse. Here he spent months at a time, entirely given up to his books and writing.

Les Baux should be approached from the north side, by each of the two roads in turn. The bad old road past the Plateau des Antiquités at St. Rémy gives the sudden view, but the other approach is very striking. The old road shows the commanding eminence of the castle. To reach the Tremaïe and the Gaïe, *Les Baux* should be left by the old road : on the crest a path strikes southward round the hill under the castle. A tiny chapel presently appears, and above it the tablet known as the Tremaïe. Popularly it is supposed to be the saints of Les Saintes Maries. Probably it is Roman, and represents Marius with his wife Julia, and Martha the prophetess, who accompanied him on his campaigns. Continuing by the path, one sees on the right a huge rock, evidently fallen from its place, the Gaïe, probably representing Marius and Martha.

The path brings one round the hill to the original side again. Across the road, in the valley, one should ask for the Pavillon de la Reine

Jeanne. It stands in a corner of a vineyard, one of the most delightful things in Provence. Originally there were others like it. Provence would like to associate it with Courts of Love. But these were much earlier than Queen Jeanne's time. Queen Jeanne was Jeanne de Laval, wife of King René, who was warmly attached to Les Baux. Now, if one casts one's mind back to the pyramidal monument at St. Rémy, is not its influence clearly apparent in the Pavillon de la Reine ?

It is worth while to stay in Les Baux and enjoy its air, the lights, colours, herb-scented grass, the sunsets with the light on the houses, and the early morning by the castle, when the house-martins favour it as they did Macbeth's. Sheep-raising is the chief interest of the neighbourhood. During the summer the shepherds drive their flocks as far as Savoy for pasturage. In October there are many flocks on the road. Sometimes lambs are born on the way. One may see a donkey with a great bundle on each flank ; out of each bundle projects the head of a lamb. The midnight Mass at Christmas at Les Baux is called Le Pastrage, by reason of the shepherds' part in it. After the reading of the Gospel, a concealed voice proclaims the Birth, and a shepherd replies. Then shepherds and shepherdesses advance in traditional costume, and with them a ram drawing a little olive-wood cart in which is a lamb. Each in turn takes up the lamb, which is symbolically offered before the altar.

Mention has already been made of the important Baux family. One of their titles, Prince of Orange, descended in the family for over two centuries. Eventually Marie des Baux was left holder of the title. She married Jean de Châlons, and her descendants were the Dutch and English sovereigns.

Beaucaire Castle is very commanding from its situation, and more attractive to visit than Tarascon. One may walk about the walls and enjoy the garden. It originally covered a very large area. The unusual triangular shape of the donjon keep implied also unusual vaulting. In the parapet there are crossed openings in the merlons (wall between the embrasures); through these more than one man could shoot at a time. The chapel is worth seeing, and has Gothic details as well as Roman.

In the town is a very fine Hôtel-de-Ville. The buildings related to it in this district are the Mint at Avignon and the Hôtel-de-Ville at Arles. They are most interesting to compare.

Beaucaire had a famous fair, which for centuries assembled traders of every nationality, and brought East and West together.

It was also the home of Aucassin in the old French *cantefable*. He was so deep in love with Nicolette that he could think of nothing else. The enemy were pressing against his father's castle; he rode out to meet them so full of dreams that he was captured straight away. But quickly he bethought him, that if he was a prisoner he would not see Nicolette, and he struck out and took his

captor captive. How Nicolete was denied him and imprisoned and himself thrown into a tower, how each escaped and how they met in the forest, how they put to sea, how the Saracens captured them, and how they were re-united at last, is one of the most charming tales in old French literature. This poem-story, almost the only surviving example of its particular type, can rarely have been equalled in this special genre. Its simplicity, its life, its poetic expression are hard to match (translated by Andrew Lang—Bourdillon). “Now it was summer time, the month of May, when days are warm, and long, and clear, and the night still and serene. Nicolete lay one night on her bed, and saw the moon shine clear through a window, yea, and heard the nightingale sing in the garden, so she minded her of Aucassin, her lover whom she loved so well. Then she fell to thoughts of Count Garin de Beaucaire, that hated her to the death; therefore deemed she that there she would no longer abide, for that, if she were told of, and the Count knew whereas she lay, an ill death would he make her die. Now she knew that the old woman slept who held her company. Then she arose, and clad her in a mantle of silk she had by her, very goodly, and took napkins, and sheets of the bed, and knotted one to the other and made therewith a cord as long as she might, so knitted it to a pillar in the window, and let herself slip down into the garden, then caught up her raiment in both hands, behind and before, and kilted up her kirtle, because of the dew that she saw lying deep on the grass, and so went her way down through

the garden." She approached a crevice in the tower where Aucassin lay.

Then she cut her curls of gold,
Cast them in the dungeon hold :
Aucassin doth clasp them there,
Kissed the curls that were so fair.

"Aucassin and Nicolette"

(done into English by A. Lang).

Camaret.—If one is motoring, it is worth while to try and include Camaret in the run, a fine little walled town.

Carpentras has a Roman arch, which is badly placed for a favourable view, but is worth seeking. It is a single arch with fluted pilasters. On it figure captives and trophies deeply carved. On the death of the first Pope to reside at Avignon (Clement V—he died at Roquemaure), the papal election was held at Carpentras. Rioters set fire to the building in which the conclave was held, and the cardinals escaped with difficulty. The result was a vacancy of the pontificate for two years.

Cavaillon.—At the far end of the *place*, almost hidden by the plane-trees, stand two arches surmounted by a cornice, with winged victories in the angles. On these was originally erected a pyramidal monument (*cf.* Vienne and St. Rémy) to commemorate a victory over the tribes whose capital city was Cavaillon. This monument was still standing in the fifteenth century. The church is aisleless, with semi-circular apse : the exterior of the apse is hexagonal.

Châteauneuf du Pape.—To be visited for the wine.

Courthézon is worth including if one is motoring. It has a beautiful fountain.

Entraigues is another small place worth passing through.

Le Thor has a very striking church. It is aisleless, with pointed tunnel vaults and transverse ribs. The ribs of the dome and of the semi-dome of the apse are suggestive of Roman construction. Where the Provençal builders define the structure of domes and semi-domes with ribs, the Romans had used bricks, filling in the rest of the vault with rubble and cement. The pendentives of the dome hold the symbols of the Evangelists. The apse is divided by seven round arches resting on pillars in two storeys. The fine porch has already been compared with that of Avignon for its classical pillars and detail.

Maillane was the home of Mistral, the modern poet of Provençal, and he is buried there. He and six others were the original *félibriges* (Provençal word for doctor of law—Mistral's actual standing), whose ambition it was to make Provençal once more a written literary language. As a spoken language it had never died, and is still in everyday use. Other well-known *félibriges* were Roumanille and Aubanel. They had humbler imitators. Les Baux has its own poet. Mistral's *Mireille* is probably the best-known modern work in Provençal; he wrote other charming poems. His *Mémoires et récits* is a pleasant book, from which one gets an idea of old Provençal life, of the pilgrimages, of the farming, and finally of the renaissance of

Provençal. This, and his poems, can be read in French.

Marseilles can be visited from Aix if one does not wish to stay there. It was originally a commercial city. But the Greeks had also a university there, where philosophy and medicine were studied. And it was evidently regarded as a very agreeable place of residence. On more than one occasion, emperors wishing to soften the legal penalty sent exiled offenders to *Marseilles*. One of these was so happy that he left his fortune to the city. But this was in Roman times, when "to set sail for *Marseilles*" was the equivalent for hearing the chimes at midnight. In Greek times the city was much respected. Its inhabitants had a great reputation for industry and moderation. Its virtuous name induced parents to send their sons to study there rather than in Greece. No jugglers or players were allowed in the city; women were not permitted to drink wine; and there were laws restricting luxury in dress.

After the Vieux Port has been visited, the story of Pytheas may be worth recalling. He was a Greek shipowner of Massilia. Travelling at his own risk and expense, he sailed to Cadiz, rounded Cape St. Vincent to Cape Ortegal, coasted the north of Spain to Ushant and Brittany, and realised that he was following along the other side of Gaul. From Brittany he crossed to Cornwall, rounded Great Britain, and noted that it was an island. He landed, and observed the tides and commented on the people. It is said that he even noted relationship between the tides and the

moon. After that he sailed back up the Channel again, and on to the River Elbe, and beyond to Norway. In Norway he landed and went a little way up-country and made observations on the northern long days of summer and long nights of winter, but was not favourably impressed. Finally, he returned to Marseilles with equal success.

The original Greek settlement at Massilia occupied the ground between the Vieux Port and the Joliette. A strong fortification ran across the neck of this peninsula, sloping on the outside to a ravine. When the Romans, under Trebonius, Julius Cæsar's general, besieged the town in 49 B.C., they had to reduce a place of great natural strength. Mining the walls was almost impossible; the ground was too rocky. Movable shedding to protect assailants was always burnt; the town was well stocked with pitch and everything warlike—e.g. machines for throwing heavy missiles. It was necessary, too, to act by sea. Cæsar had no boats, but Arles supplied him with twelve warships within thirty days of felling the trees for construction. These boats were of rather heavy, clumsy build, but this proved no disadvantage. They were manned by volunteers who could not have manœuvred them properly. Decimus Brutus regarded them rather as solid platforms for a land battle at sea, and concentrated on grappling with the enemy's ships and boarding them. The effect was devastating to his better trained opponents because it was so disconcerting. Two naval victories were won, and

meanwhile a covered approach had been built which was almost incombustible. By its means part of the chief tower was undermined.

After the surrender Massilia declined into a moderate-sized provincial town. A good deal of its commerce left it for Arles, but it retained its university, not only for Hellenic studies, but for medicine. The teaching was inspired by the Greek critical spirit. Dieting was understood, baths were recommended, and drugs were distrusted. Many rich Romans sent their sons here. A grand-nephew of Augustus was a student. But the greater part of the students were the sons of wealthy citizens of Narbo and Lugdunum.

The church of St. Victor has a very ancient crypt, and the fortified exterior may be compared with Les Saintes Maries. It has unusual Gothic detail.

Martigues, beloved of artists, is rather absurdly called the Venice of Provence. Still, approached from Marignane, when one is yet a mile or more away, the view is entirely Venice. There is a high-shouldered church with a baroque façade; at that distance the steps appear to descend straight to the water. But the fascination of its colours increases as one draws near. First there are the waterside and creek, with fishing boats backed by shuttered houses. Further on there opens a great square, one side of which is water, and at the far end two sailing boats are just appearing with the sun on their sails.

Montfaucon may be included, if motoring, for the remains of an old castle.

Montfavet has a church of the fortress type.

Montmajour. See under *Arles*.

Nîmes.—The Tour Magne is a puzzle to archæologists. It stands on Mont Cavalier, and appears to be an octagonal memorial tower to the victories of Augustus. Probably a colossal statue of Augustus surmounted the tower. But the tower is not the only structure. It is surrounded by a great terrace supported on arches. On this terrace there probably stood rooms or a peristyle. But what was the purpose of the interior? It forms one great chamber, with a rubble dome, and possibly an opening in the middle of the roof. The actual tower bears resemblances to the monument at La Turbie on the Riviera.

The amphitheatre is an excellent instance of the combined use of the Etruscan arch and the Greek orders in Roman architecture. It is the arch which does the work. Nevertheless, the Romans have added columns and entablature which have no structural significance. The result is extraordinarily effective. It may certainly be considered insincere construction, but the eye appreciates only its impressiveness. It may be noted, however, that a finer impression would be given if the entablature were not broken over every arch. In the Colosseum it follows one long sweeping curve. No cement was used in the construction of Nîmes amphitheatre. The masonry is particularly massive. In places the carving has not been completed. Note the bulls' heads carved on the external walls. Water

could be admitted to this amphitheatre if desired. A floor or staging was erected for gladiatorial combats. For wild-beast shows it was removed.

The Maison Carrée was constructed between A.D. 117 and 138, during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. It is not only the best preserved Roman temple in existence, but one of the most elegant. The impression it gives is Greek rather than Roman, while that at Vienne is purely Roman. But its plan is Roman, that is to say squarer than a Greek temple, and with columns engaged against the wall of the *cella* or interior apartment, instead of standing free. To Greek influence it must owe the marvellous detail of the cornice. This gives it a richness which contrasts forcibly with the appearance of the temple at Vienne. And the Greek secrets of optical delusion were used in its construction. It is well known that in Greek temples the pillars were not absolutely straight ; a very slight curve made the diameter greater in the middle than at the extremities. So also they inclined slightly inwards, and an imperceptible curve (convex) prevented any appearance of sagging in the long lines of architrave and pediment. By these means they gained an impression of stability and accuracy. The frieze probably bore an inscription. The flank view is not so satisfactory as that of the portico. Classical temples were meant to be viewed from the front. Remains of colonnades indicate that it stood at one end of a forum.

The Roman baths below the lovely Jardin de la Fontaine can still be seen. Near the pool of



NÎMES: TEMPLE OF DIANA.

the source stands the Temple erected by the Romans in honour of Diana and of the Nymph of the Spring. To the student of architecture, the Roman waggon-roof of this temple is exceedingly valuable. For roofing purposes the temple may be said to consist of a nave and two aisles, though these latter are separated by walls from the main hall, or *cella*. The *cella* is vaulted, and so are the side passages, the thrust of the nave being counteracted by the thrust of the side-passage. Here, then, the Romans had solved the problem of roofing a nave and aisles. This was the great gift of Roman architecture to Provençal churches. It was unusual even in Roman work to use this combination of thrusts. Undoubtedly it determined the future of church-building. The mediæval builders took it for their pattern (but used at first the pointed arch). This Roman waggon-roof must make one marvel at the ability of its builders. No cement has been used in it. Yet, though broken, it retains its poise from year to year. Such remarkable stability must have been the result of exceptional balance and adjustment. The temple was probably lighted by a great semi-circular window over the portico. This portico has its pillars very far apart; possibly it carried a wooden entablature. One writer suggests that the building, as also the Pantheon at Rome, was a Nymphæum—a lounge with running water and flowering plants—but this is not the general opinion.

Near by was the reservoir in which the aqueduct carried by the Pont du Gard terminated.

Partly through tunnels, partly in the open, it had carried the water twenty-five miles.

The Nymph of the Spring, who shared the dedication of the temple with Diana, was held in the highest reverence by the early tribes. Their devotion to this cult, and to the traditional Celtic gods, made the city the most religious in Gaul. This tradition was maintained under the Romans, and the worship of the Cæsars was also welcomed in an atmosphere naturally pious. For piety seems to have been the outstanding quality of its citizens. They were not men of high rank and education, not fighters, nor thinkers. They were, rather, good citizens, and god-fearing men. Foreigners, Greeks, and others did not diminish this impulse ; but, rather, gave it a new outlet. Legionaries returned from Africa brought the cult of Isis to the city.

Nîmes formed part of Languedoc, not Provence, in the Middle Ages.

Nôves is a little walled town with a curious old church, which may be included in the route if convenient.

Orange was a colony of the Second Legion. The massive arch may have been erected in memory of the victories of Tiberius. It has three openings, a development on the single arches of St. Rémy and Carpentras. Engaged Corinthian columns support the entablature. Above the pediment and cornice is an attic, with carved panel on the face. The Corinthian columns recur at the east side. The archivolts and frieze are sculptured, and trophies of arms are carved

about either side-arch. The cornices are richly ornamented with mouldings.

Fresh excavations are taking place adjoining the theatre. The theatre itself is unique by the survival of the back wall. It is the only theatre in existence which retains it. On the outside there was originally a second and parallel line of arches, forming a portico about the entrance. The seats were arranged to take advantage of the slope of the hill. Facing them was the scene, and behind it rose this magnificent back wall, 314 feet long by 116 feet high. Originally it was faced with marble on the interior, and enriched with carvings and statuary. It was decorated also with columns of polished granite and marble. Two such columns still surviving in the theatre at Arles enable one to picture it. Theatres belong rather to Greek influence than to Roman, being associated with Greek religion. It is uncertain whether Rome had more than one, the Theatre of Marcellus. But Herculaneum and Pompeii had them like these Provençal cities. Under the Romans the play was beginning to predominate over the religious spectacle; consequently, the stage arrangements were more complicated. Perhaps some of the grandeur of this great theatre wall is due to Greek influence, but mass is its leading quality, relieved by very little detail. The blind arches are the only ornament; the corbels above were necessary as footings to the masts which supported the awning. Here the Romans avoided detail, and trusted to the massiveness of the whole for effect.

Pernes is a little walled town which might be included in the route.

Pont du Gard.—This is not, of course, a bridge, but an aqueduct, which supplied Nîmes with water. An eighteenth-century bridge runs parallel with it; consequently the best view is obtained on the other side to the bridge. It gains variety from a curve in the structure and from the differing sizes of the arches, but it has no ornament whatever. It is the plainest and most massive work the Romans could have constructed. As to its massiveness, one should notice a horse and cart passing along the bridge. Both vanish entirely for a second or two behind each pillar. And yet this idea of massiveness is not the impression it gives. One knows it is massive, but what one sees is the light and living effect of the whole. Fergusson suggests that the smaller arches of the top storey give the effect of an entablature or a cornice to the lower ones. He continues, "Without the introduction of a single ornament, or of any member that was not absolutely wanted, this arrangement converts what is a mere utilitarian work into an architectural screen of a beauty hitherto unrivalled in its class."

Pont Flavien, near St. Chamas. This very striking monument takes one by surprise on an unimportant country road, and the contrast helps to make its impressiveness. The graceful arches rising at either end of the bridge suggest a highly developed civilisation. Originally this was the high-road from Massilia to Arelate, between two busy commercial centres, and carried an unceasing

traffic. Arches such as these were frequent in Roman times. Often they commemorated the construction of a road, the restoration of a harbour. From them was derived the triumphal arch, originally constructed on the road by which the triumphant general had passed or was about to pass. But bridges especially were decorated with arches, in the greater part of Spain and Italy. Others remain at Alcantara and at Saintes, but these of St. Chamas are generally considered the most elegant and perfect. It is possible that even here Greek influence may be traced in the purity of the detail.

Roquemaure is believed to be Hannibal's crossing-place. At the beginning of the second war between Rome and Carthage, Carthaginian sea-power had been badly defeated by Roman, but Carthage maintained and had strengthened its firm hold on Spain. Spain was, therefore, its natural base for operations against Rome, and Hannibal set out to march to Rome because the fleet of Massilia endangered the sea route. When he reached the Rhône valley, he decided, it is thought, to cross at Roquemaure, in order to be above the junction of the Durance with the Rhône. He was at first in a difficulty. Gaulish troops in the pay of Rome opposed his crossing. Therefore he sent Hanno with some Spanish mercenaries to cross the stream still higher up. Once across, they burnt the Gaulish camp and scared away the Gauls, and Hannibal had no difficulty in getting all his army across, including his thirty-seven elephants. His advance-guard

came into action with the Romans under Scipio, but he avoided a general engagement and marched quickly northwards, aiming at a pass over the Alps. Scipio could only sail hastily back to Italy in order to be ready to meet him there.

St. Gabriel.—This was Marius's port of Ernaginum (see *St. Rémy*). It remained an inland port, on the lagoons, for centuries afterwards. The church is almost windowless, and in effect a fortress. It is aisleless, with a pointed tunnel vault. The very classical porch may be compared with those of Avignon and Le Thor : it is equally Roman. Here one may study the classical mouldings—acanthus-leaf, egg, bead, and dentil. The reliefs depict the Creation and the Annunciation.

St. Gilles.—St. Giles was an Athenian, the son of wealthy parents, who left him their possessions. He early developed miraculous gifts which made him celebrated. But his renown robbed him of all peace. So he left everything, took ship, and presently reached Marseilles. For some years he lived at Arles, but again he could have no private life. So, leaving Arles, he became a hermit, living in a cave, surrounded by thick undergrowth. One day the King, hunting in the forest, pursued a deer close to St. Giles's refuge. The King drew his bow ; the arrow pierced the hand of St. Giles, which was stretched out to protect the deer. This discovered him and his story to the King, who desired him to found a monastery, and gave him land and materials for that purpose.

In speaking of the wonderful portals of St. Gilles and St. Trophime (Arles), Viollet le Duc associates them with Syrian architecture. His view is that the Crusades introduced a strong Syrian influence in Provence, and that the general scheme and proportions of both these façades is Syrian. There is conflict of opinion about them. Some authorities read in them only the fact that there was no further development of Romanesque art. Others see in them its surpassing achievement. It is illuminating to compare with them the portal of St. Marthe at Tarascon.

The frieze is devoted to the life of Christ. The tympanum of the south doorway represents the sun and moon as spectators of the Crucifixion. Two other figures represent the triumph of Christianity and the end of the Old Covenant (a woman from whose head the crown is falling). The fourteen large statues are the Twelve Apostles and two angels. The whole façade still retains the classic orders. There is an architrave, frieze, and cornice (though interrupted by archivolts). The architrave is carried on six pillars, five plain and one fluted, and, behind these, a stylobate supports pilasters between the statues of Apostles. It is an earlier façade than that of Arles, and much finer, for here three porches are connected by the colonnades. In both the effect is enhanced by the restriction of the ornament to a part of the façade. The simple recessing and moulding of the portal archivolts contrasts with the rich sculpture of the rectangular compartment below.

The original church was destroyed, leaving the west end standing and parts of the side walls. The present structure unites these. The old apse and choir were left ruinous. Among the ruins is the tower which contains the Vis de Saint Gilles. At the top of this spiral staircase, where it is broken off short, it is possible to see how the construction was contrived to give a barrel-vaulted roof to the whole staircase. The original crypt should certainly be visited. It is remarkable for its size and the wide span of the vaulting, and altogether corresponds to the dignity of the west front.

It is thought possible that Urban II and Raymond of Toulouse met at St. Gilles in September 1095 to plan the first Crusade.

There is a fine Romanesque house a little way up a turning almost opposite the west front of the church.

St. Paul-Trois Châteaux.—The cathedral is a twelfth-century church with the balancing nave and aisle vaults. But the details of the exterior are so elegant and classical that it might easily be thought older. Blind arcading supports an entablature enriched with egg and dart mouldings. The cornice and modillions above also show Roman influence.

St. Rémy is only a village. But in summer it is a cool and agreeable change from the towns. In autumn it is beautiful for its fields of zinnias, phloxes, verbenas dahlias, grown for seed. It is delightful to climb La Tour du Cardinal and look down on the flowers. Hedges of cypress

and bamboo protect the fields from the mistral.

The two *antiquités* stand at a little distance from the village, near the site of the Roman town of Glanum, which was once important for its stone quarries. One of these monuments is described as the Mausoleum, but this is probably a mistake. On a square base, ornamented with bas reliefs, four arches, with Corinthian engaged columns at the angles, carry an entablature. From this rises a circular upper storey consisting of ten Corinthian pillars surmounted by a cupola. Within the ten pillars stand two statues. This beautiful monument was probably erected by Julius Cæsar, to commemorate the victory of Marius, who was his uncle. This triumphal monument of pyramid form is really earlier than the arch type. The *pyramide* at Vienne is an early example, and a pyramidal monument at Cavaillon was still standing in the fifteenth century. The form found its highest expression here at St. Rémy. It seems obvious that it was designed for a scholar and a man of taste. The pyramid form was succeeded by the arch, in Provence as at Rome. The arch here, the second monument, is the earliest of its kind still standing. It is a single arch with fluted pillars. It is sculptured with captives in chains, and at the sides are empty niches for statues. The graceful carving of the archivolt is particularly beautiful. There is an almost Greek beauty about this early arch which contrasts with the massiveness of Orange, or with the arch of Carpentras. It seems

a miracle that the two monuments should survive together, and in such a background. It is worth noting that the pyramidal monument has influenced local architecture at Les Baux and Arles. The two figures at the summit are probably Marius and Catulus.

While Marius was defeating the barbarians in the Province, Catulus, his old lieutenant, was facing them on the Po; the two victories are naturally associated. That Cæsar should honour Marius in this way was perhaps a spontaneous impulse. But it would be received as expressing a political view. Marius was democratic. He enforced obedience among his troops, but he also gained their confidence. Thus Cæsar indicated that he was returning with "his sword and spoils ungirt to lay them at the Public's skirt," that he was embracing the people's party.

Glanum took the place of Marius's camp. Here he had stood and kept watch. A fresh wave of invasion had poured through from the north. Cimbrians and Teutons, hungry for land for settlement, were marching down in an enormous host, with wives and children and servants, waggons, and possessions. Sweeping over all obstacles, the barbarians set panic at work. Already they had defeated five Roman armies, and taught the city that raw troops could not meet them. Such alarm was roused in Rome that a standing army was declared necessary to meet such emergencies; it dates from this time. The Romans had never forgotten their old danger in

Rome itself. How were the troops going to face this wild enemy ?

Marius had time to make his plans : by a fortunate chance, some of the invaders turned aside first towards the Pyrenees. Meanwhile, Marius drilled his men, training the new levies with a cadre of his old soldiers. For this task he had special gifts, he could make a whole out of undisciplined numbers. He studied the ground, made his plans, and set his men to work to contrive a great canal. The hills on which he was camped were surrounded by water. He had only to improve the channels connecting the lagoons, and get a steady level of water by tapping the Rhône. He had determined to remain at Glanum, where he could watch the Rhône crossing at Beaucaire-Tarascon (the customary one), and he had to ensure his supplies. Arles, then a port, was still Massilian, it must be remembered. Besides, his canal would bring his camp into direct communication with the sea, hence with Rome. His port was Ernaginum (St. Gabriel), and he connected this with the Durance as well as with the sea.

In his strong position at Glanum, supported by the Alpilles, he was almost impregnable. He could not afford to lose. When the barbarians appeared, they tried to tempt him from his position : he stayed quiet. Some attacks were repulsed, and the soldiers accustomed themselves to the sight of the enemy. Finally the barbarian army marched on below, and his men watched them and weighed them ; perhaps marked their

undisciplined hurry. When they were past, he marched on their heels, but only to encamp again above them. His men grew weary ; they began to desire action, and they complained that there was no water on their hill. Marius saw the barbarian rearguard unprepared ; he bade his men go and fetch water. They rushed down the hill ; the rear of the enemy was taken entirely by surprise ; numbers were killed, and the rest driven back on the centre. By this time it was dark ; Marius retired. All through the night rose the wild outcries of the host. Some were mourning the dead, some demanding vengeance. The whole of the following day the barbarians were in flight. After them marched the Romans. On the second day Marius took up a strong position on the slopes of Mont Sainte Victoire, and detached a force to go round and take the enemy in the rear. The Roman main body advanced a very little. The undisciplined enemy rushed forward up the slope, giving the Romans an advantage. But, as the Romans met them and forced them back on to level ground, the battle hung still in the balance. Suddenly the barbarians heard cries from their rear. They turned to meet the fresh danger ; the main Roman army fell on them and achieved the great slaughter of Pourrières (*campi putridi*), near Aix-en-Provence. Above the battlefield rises the forbidding mountain named after it—Montagne Sainte Victoire.

Near the Plateau des Antiquités at St. Rémy is the monastery of St. Paul, with fine cloisters.

Les Saintes Maries.—To the story of the legend

already told (p. 116) need only be added that Sarah was believed to be an Egyptian. Consequently, gypsies make the church a place of pilgrimage, and outside it their bright handkerchiefs can be bought. The day of pilgrimage is May 25th. It was formerly a very popular one. Every class of people was represented, and miraculous cures were said to be effected. But Mistral's account of Mireille's visit is the best reflection of popular feeling. The church is three-storeyed. Below is a crypt; above the choir is a chapel where the sacred relics are kept, and from this, on the day of pilgrimage, they are let down, amid the excited prayers and ejaculations of the congregation.

The church stands very high, with scarcely any windows, and is practically a fortress. The tower forms a keep, and there is a crenellated and machicolated parapet suggestive of the Palace of the Popes. Provence has other such fortress churches, e.g. St. Gabriel (just as, in England, church towers were used as strongholds against the Danes). Where there was no castle, the church might be the only stone building, surrounded by flimsy huts. Moreover, the previous church here had been destroyed by the Saracens.

On the way to Les Saintes Maries, something is seen of the Camargue. But here it is chiefly reclaimed fields and vineyards. To see the famous Camargue, a special journey is necessary. It is a tract of pasture-land; great herds of sheep, cattle, and goats are reared there. The bulls of the Camargue have always been famous. Some go to the Spanish bull-rings. They are in charge

of *gardiens*, living each solitary but for horse and dog during several months of the year.

Tarascon.—The church of St. Martha is fourteenth-century, but the south portal is twelfth-century, like the more elaborate portals of Arles and St. Gilles. It is curious to see the Gothic dogtooth used in conjunction with classical mouldings. It is said that the use of columns in the narthex of Venice was suggested by their use here in these Provençal portals. A beautiful and unusual arcade surmounts the archivolts.

The castle was once a residence of King René, who took great pleasure in his little study with stained-glass windows. It has both the square towers of the south and the round ones of the north: possibly it was an Angevin builder employed by King René who added the latter. But the town gate has northern elements—flanking towers to the entrance, instead of a gate through the tower.

Thor, Le. See *Le Thor*.

Vaison still retains its Roman bridge. And, like Rome, it still has Roman sewers. As a Roman town its character resembled that of Vienne. It was a rich, elegant, cultured city. Besides the beautiful and unrestored theatre, there is a museum. But the best find of Vaison was sold to the British Museum, the *diadumenos* of Polycletus. It represents a runner binding about his head the riband, or *diadema*, which was the prize of the race. More marbles have been found at Vaison than at any other town in France. A Faun is one of the Vaison finds in the Louvre.

Much Roman work is built into the cathedral. This cathedral was rebuilt in the tenth century, but some of the external wall is eighth-century, and the apse even earlier. Both nave and aisles have apses. The magnificent cornice deserves careful study. There is much Roman detail, and the projecting modillions are suggestive of timber joists as in Greek entablatures. The vaulting of this church is an example of the use of pointed arches. It has already been noted that in Provence the natural tendency was to take over the round arch from Rome, but in vaulting, the builders preferred the constructional advantages of a pointed arch. At Vaison they enhanced these advantages by using only a half segment on the nave side of the aisle, so as to buttress the nave. But the drawback of the plan is very obvious at Vaison : it darkens the church. The Chapel of St. Quinin also has a pointed tunnel vault. It is ninth- or tenth-century, with some early carved panels of the seventh century. But its remarkable apse seems earlier work. On the exterior it forms two sides of a triangle, with a pillar at each angle and in the middle of each wall, and, above, an entablature. Inside it is semi-circular.

Vienne was part of the Roman province, and should certainly be visited if possible. The cathedral is noteworthy for its fine terraced approach at the west end. Fergusson dates the west front and three west bays of the nave in the sixteenth century, and the rest in the eleventh century. Roman influence shows itself in the pilasters which rise to the triforium. Similar

work may be seen in Burgundy, as at Autun, which had important classical buildings. The exterior shows openings above the aisle windows. On the south side these were not completed and look most unattractive. On the north side it is possible to see what a fine piece of work they would have been. The openings, where completed, consist of pairs of round arches, moulded and ornamented, each pair resting on a single pillar. The pillars, the round arcading between the openings, the ornaments interspersed, are very varied in form and carving.

But it is chiefly for the Temple of Augustus and Livia that one comes to Vienne. The Maison Carrée of Nîmes is a little larger, and glories in its wonderful cornice. But the two can be compared, and the Temple of Augustus has the merit of being better placed for a good view. Besides the Arc de Triomphe mentioned by Baedeker as having once bounded the forum (or formed part of it), there is a finer arch of wider span, but difficult to see as it is in a narrow passage. From this point it is worth while to deviate the short distance to the seventeenth-century Porte de l'Ambulance. The twelfth-century tower of St. André le Bas should be seen. The deep cornice and the arcading are suggestive of Italian campaniles, but the tower is more satisfactorily planned than an Italian one, and has more detail. There is yet another church, St. Pierre, now used as a museum. Its tower and porch are twelfth-century, but the pillars and arches are eighth- or ninth-century, and the side-walls (recessed arches

surmounted by window arches supported on columns) are believed to be fifth-century. On either side of the principal entrance to the porch, two sloping buttress walls form an approach. Inside, the wall arches are supported on pillars which are probably Roman. One rarely sees such primitive arches as are used between nave and aisles ; there are neither pillars nor capitals.

Baedeker does not mention the Roman road of which a part has been uncovered in the public gardens near the station. From there it is only ten minutes' walk (not twenty) to the *pyramide*. This used to be called Pilate's tomb, but was supposed to be the *spina* of a circus. More probably it is a triumphal monument, erected by Fabius to celebrate a victory over Gaulish tribes at the junction of the Rhône and Isère. At Cavaillon are remains of a similar memorial of more developed type. And a much finer one is at St. Rémy, the monument erected under Julius Cæsar in honour of Marius's victories.

The town of Vienne was marked by Cæsar as a key position. It was at that time the capital of the Allobroges, and he won them to personal affection for him. He employed forty thousand men in improving its fortifications, so that he was able to hold out when Vercingetorix laid siege to it in a last effort to maintain Gaulish independence. Vercingetorix had actually defeated the Romans at Gergovia. Now he cut off Cæsar's supplies, and prevented help from reaching the city from Rome. However, Cæsar obtained the help of German cavalry, and

Vercingetorix was finally beaten at Alesia. It is a proof of Cæsar's hold over the hearts of the Allobroges (whose town it was) that, at the news of his assassination, every Roman was driven from the city.

These refugees were the founders of the Roman colony of Lugdunum (Lyons). Thus Vienna (Vienne) was the older Roman colony of the two. When it passed back into Roman hands, there was great rivalry between them. At that time it had twelve cities subordinate to it and a great extent of territory. It was not so much a trading city as Lugdunum. It was a rich and luxurious, but it was also a cultivated one. Rich landholders, leisured and wealthy nobles, passed their winters at Vienna and built town houses there. They enjoyed all the luxuries and pleasures of the day. They could afford such expensive entertainments as chariot races. Greek comedians performed there. Its amenities made it a pleasant residence, and cultivated men also lived there. The poet Martial took a pleasure in being appreciated at Vienne. For its beauty, for its fine buildings, its statuary, its mosaics, the town was famous throughout the Empire.

There is a mosaic from Vienne at the British Museum.

The Roman bridge was still standing until the seventeenth century. It and Arelate (Arles) were the only bridges below Lugdunum in Roman times.

In mediæval times it became the capital of Viennois or Dauphiné, part of the kingdom of

Arles and Burgundy. It was frequently the royal residence. It endeavoured to supplant Arles, the place of coronations. By means of forged documents, it disputed the claim of the see of Arles to seniority. It could not forget its ancient splendour. So again it disputed precedence with Lyons, and stamped on its coins *prima galliarum*, or *maxima galliarum*, *caput galliæ*.



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INDEX

A

AIGUES-MORTES, 14, 76, 84-5, 151-2
Aix-en-Provence, 14, 24, 30, 35, 50, 56, 121, 142, 152-4
Albi, 76, 100, 106
Albigensian Crusade, 61, 63, 67, 71, 96, 98-107
Alesia, 29, 200
Aliscamps, 157-8
Allobroges, 27, 29, 35, 199
Alphonse of Poitiers, 63-4
Alphonso of Aragon, 76, 137
Alpilles, 13, 193
Alys of Blois, 92
Amour courtois, 89-95
Andrew of Hungary, 67, 125-8
Angers, 139-44
Aquæ Sextiæ. *See* **AIX-EN-PROVENCE**
Arelate. *See* **ARLES**
Arianism, 98
Arles, 16, 35, 44, 46, 51-2, 59, 62, 73, 74, 79, 101, 121-2, 151, 154-63
Arriovistus, 28
Artemis, 18, 44, 117, 157
Attis, 44
Aucassin and Nicolette, 174, 175
Augustus, 33
Autun, 119, 198
Auvergne, 49, 50, 56, 117
Avallon, 119
Avignon, 35, 46, 50-1, 56, 62-4, 66, 68, 74-5, 105-6, 108-15, 121, 163-72

B

BAUX, LES, 13, 21, 58, 116, 144, 151, 172-4, 177
 family of, 51, 56, 66, 163, 174
Adelasia, 96
Barral, 63-4, 96
Bertrand IV, 66
François, 130-1

Baux, Les—continued

Guillaume, 61-2, 94
Guillaume Hugues, 84
Hugues, 63, 127
Raymond, 56-9, 63, 65, 86
Raymond (of Naples), 128, 131
Rinaldo, 128
Beaucaire, 27, 71, 105, 174-6
Benedict XII, 165
Benedict XIII, 114-15
Bernard de Ventadour, 95
Bertrand de Born, 95
Béziers, 51, 102-3, 106
Boccaccio, 132
Boniface VIII, 108, 170
Boson, 52-3
Bouvines, battle of, 60, 105

C

CÆSARIUS OF ARLES, RULE OF, 48, 157
Caldora, 138
Camaret, 176
Camargue, 14, 16, 195
Capuchonnés, 71
Carcassonne, 51, 102, 106
Carpentras, 56, 176, 191
Carthaginians, 18, 20, 24
Cathars, 100-1
Catherine of Siena, 113, 172
Cavaillon, 15, 176, 191
Celtic diet, 32, 33
 language, 33-4, 37
Chansons des malmariées, 90
Chansons de toile, 90
Charles I of Anjou, Provence, Naples, 64-5, 123
Charles II of Provence, Naples, cedes Anjou, 66
Charles of Durazzo I, 125-8
Charles of Durazzo II, 130-2
Charles IV, Emperor, 67
Charles VI of France, 113-14
Charles VII of France, 77, 135, 137, 139
Charles of Maine, 69, 140
Châteauneuf du Pape, 176

Children's Crusade, 71-2
 Cistercians, influence of, 150, 159
 Civil rights, Roman, 84-5, 88, 42
 Civil service, Roman, 87, 89
 Claudius, 84
 Clement IV, 94
 Clement V, 108
 Clement VI, 110-11, 127-8, 182,
 165, 170
 Clement VII, 113-14, 181
 Cœur Jacques, 76-8, 140, 143
 Colleges, Roman, 89
 Compagnies, 75-6
 Consuls, government by, 73-4
 Council of Constance, 115
 Courthézon, 177
 Courts of Love, 94
 Crau, 14-16
 Cumæ, 20
 Cybele, 44

D

DANTE, 92
 Dauphiné, 67, 200
 Decimus Brutus, 30, 179
 Dionysus, 44-5
 Dominic, St., 102
 Druids, 18, 33, 36
 Dujardin and the Capuchonnés, 70
 Durance, 18-15, 54

E

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE, 92
 Entraigues, 177
 Entremont, 154
 Epona, 43-4
 Ernaginum. *See* ST. GABRIEL
 Etruscans, 18, 20, 145
 Eyck, Van, 141

F

FAVORINUS OF ARLES, 36
 Folquet de Marseilles, 94, 96
 Forcalquier, Count of, 56
 Forum Julii. *See* FRÉJUS
 Fos, 25
 Francis of Assisi, St., 99
 Frederick Barbarossa, 58, 65, 73,
 158
 Frederick II, 62, 65, 73, 109, 124
 Fréjus, 14, 15, 27, 35, 46

G

GALEAZZO OF MANTUA, 182
 Galon de Sarton, 122

Gauls, 17, 19, 20, 23
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 92
 Gervase of Tilbury, 60
 Gladiators, 41
 Glanum. *See* ST. RÉMY
 Gnæus Domitius Afer, 42
 Gregory XI, 118
 Gregory XII, 114
 Guerre du Bien Public, 140, 144
 Guesclin, du, 76
 Guy Folqueys of Nîmes, 94

H

HADRIAN, 41, 182
 Hannibal, 24-5, 187
 Hawkwood, 75
 Henry VI, Emperor, 59, 65
 Henry VII, Emperor, 67
 Henry VI of England, 135, 142
 Himera, 20
 Hugues of Provence, 58

I

INNOCENT IV, 109
 Inquisition, 106-7
 Ironwork, characteristic Provence,
 153, 170
 Isabelle of Lorraine, 185, 187-8
 Isis, 45-6, 117, 184
 Istres, 15

J

JAMES OF MINORCA, 129
 Jeanne I. *See* JOANNA
 Jeanne d'Arc, 135-6
 Jeanne de Laval, 144, 173
 Jews, 111-12
 Joanna I of Naples and Provence,
 67-8, 123-33, 144, 165, 171
 John XXII, 109-10, 165
 Joinville, 79-83
 Julius Cæsar, 28-30, 191-2

L

LAURANA, 141
 Lazarus, 116-20
 Les Baux. *See* BAUX
 Ligurians, 17, 23, 31, 36, 154
 Louis I of Anjou, Naples, Prov-
 ence, 68, 131, 171
 Louis II of Anjou, Naples, Prov-
 ence, 68, 134, 171
 Louis III of Anjou, Naples Prov-
 ence, 68, 134, 136
 Louis VII of France, 84

Louis VIII of France, 62, 105-6
 Louis IX (St. Louis) of France,
 63-4, 81-2, 84-5, 151
 Louis XI of France, 140
 Louis of Taranto, 127-8, 171
 Lyons (Lugdunum), 32, 34, 40, 42,
 66, 108, 143, 200

M

MAGNA MATER, 44-6, 117
 Maillane, 15, 177
 Manicheism, 98, 100
 Marie of Champagne, 92
 Marie of France, wife of Charles
 VII, 134, 137
 Marie, sister of Joanna I, 125
 Marius, 25-6, 30, 154, 172, 188,
 191-4
 Marseilles (and Massilia), 15,
 18-30, 36, 46, 62, 65, 74, 76, 79,
 80, 85, 101, 106, 121, 178-80
 Martha, prophetess to Marius,
 154, 172
 Martha, St., 117, 120
 Martial, 42, 200
 Martigues, 15, 180
 Mary Magdalene, 116-21
 Marys, three, 116, 173
 Mistral, 177, 195
 Mithraism, 46-7
 Montfaucon, 180
 Montfauvet, 181
 Montfort, Amaury de, 62, 105
 Montfort, Simon de, 61, 103, 105
 Montmajour, 14, 48, 150, 160-3
 Montpellier, 73, 76, 80
 Moors. *See* SARACENS
 Muret, battle of, 104

N

NAPLES, 59, 65-6, 123-33, 137-9
 Narbonne, 24, 26, 30, 35, 42, 46,
 51, 73, 76, 79, 104
 Nemausus. *See* NÎMES
 Nice, 20, 74
 Nicholas V, 110, 172
 Nîmes, 12, 35, 39-43, 46-7, 51, 71,
 105, 146-7, 151, 181-4
 Nôves, 184

O

ORANGE, 47, 157, 184-5, 191
 Orange, Prince of, 54, 59, 65, 174
 Otto of Brunswick, 131-2

P

PAMIERS, STATUTS DE, 104
 Pas de la Bergère, 143
 Pedro II of Aragon, 104
 Pedro III of Aragon, 65-6
 Pelagianism, 100
 Pernes, 186
 Petrarch, 92, 110, 125, 132, 172
 Philip Augustus of France, 59-60,
 72, 84, 104
 Philip VI of France, 170
 Philippe le Bel, of France, 108, 151
 Philippe le Bel, Tower of, 106, 151,
 168
 Phoea, 18-19
 Phœnicians, 12, 18, 154
 Pierre de Castelnau, 102
 Plague, 75, 111
 Pliny, 42
 Podesta, government by, 74
 Pompeius Trogus, 36
 Pompey, 26, 29
 Pont du Gard, 15, 146, 168, 188,
 186
 Pont Flavien, St. Chamas, 186-7
 Pourrières, 26-7, 154 194
 Pytheas, 21, 178

Q

QUINTILIAN, 42

R

RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, CRUSA-
 DER, 55-6, 72, 84, 86, 190
 Raymond V of Toulouse, 94, 101
 Raymond VI of Toulouse, 61, 94,
 101-2, 104
 Raymond VII of Toulouse, 62-3
 Raymond Bérenger II of Barce-
 lona, 55-7, 86
 Raymond Bérenger III of Barce-
 lona, 58
 Raymond Bérenger IV of Barce-
 lona, 61-4, 94
 Raymond Roger of Carcassonne,
 101
 Raymond Roger of Foix, 94, 101
 Religion, Roman, 42-7
 René, 68, 134-44, 153, 196
 Richard Cœur de Lion, 59-60, 84
 Rienzi, 110, 172
 Robert the Wise of Naples and
 Provence, 67, 170
 Roger Trencavel of Béziers, 103
 Roquemaure, 187-8
 Rudel, 96

S

ST. CHAMAS, 15
 Sainte Baume, 116, 140
 Saintes Maries, *Les*, 44, 116, 120,
 142, 180, 194-5
 St. Front Périgueux, 149
 St. Gabriel, 13, 25, 27, 164, 188,
 193, 195
 St. Gilles, 13, 79, 102, 150, 159,
 188-90
 St. Maximin, 116, 119-21
 St. Paul-Trois Châteaux, 190
 St. Rémy, 25, 151, 162, 173, 190-4
 Saracens, 50-2, 86, 89, 98, 170, 195
 Sarah, 116, 195
 Scipio, 24-5, 188
 Seneca, 42
 Serapis, 45-6
 Sertorius, 26
 Sicilian Vespers, 66, 123
 Sicily, 59, 65-6, 123, 128
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 156
 Spain, 12, 23-4, 26-7, 42, 75, 85-6
 Stephen of Cloyes, 71-2

T

TARASCON, 27, 64, 74, 117, 120,
 142-3, 189, 196
 Taurobolium, 45-6
 Templars suppressed, 108
Tençon, 91, 95
 Thor, *Le*, 56, 164, 177, 188

Toulouse, 104, 106
 Trebonius, 80, 179
 Trinquetaille, 58, 162
 Trophimus, 48, 116, 157-8, 163

U

URBAN II, 83, 190
 Urban V, 112, 129, 132, 171
 Urban VI, 68, 113, 126, 131

V

VAISON, 161, 170, 196-7
 Valdo, Pierre, 99
 Vaudois, 98-101
 Venaissin, 56, 61, 64, 67, 69, 109,
 111
 Vercingetorix, 29, 199
 Vézelay Abbey, 118-20
 Via Domitia, 27
 Vienne, 27, 29-30, 35, 122, 151,
 182, 191, 197-201
 Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, 76, 106,
 110, 169-70
 Virgin, cult of, 93
 Visconti of Milan, 129, 137
 Votienus Montanus, 42

W

WILLIAM OF POITOU, 88

Y

YOLANDE OF ARAGON, 134-5, 153

